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THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT CLEVELAND

THE meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland, December 29-31, 1919, was designated on the programme as the "34th-35th Annual Meeting", presumably because a local epidemic of influenza made it inexpedient to hold the meeting planned for December, 1918, as the thirty-fourth, and therefore the meeting was postponed for a year. But the annual meetings of the Association have not taken place with perfect regularity¹—there was, for instance, no meeting in 1892—and the meeting of December, 1919, was properly the thirty-fourth. So many annual meetings have now been held that henceforth many a city must enjoy or suffer its second meeting rather than its first.

This was the second time the Association had met in Cleveland. It had held a meeting there in 1897, when the presidential address was delivered by Dr. James Schouler, happily still with us, the oldest of our ex-presidents. That meeting² was a notable one, held west of the Alleghanies as a consequence of that mild revolution, or infusion of new life, which had marked the New York meeting of 1896, and typifying in many ways the new spirit then evoked. It was the first meeting in which the discussion of practical professional problems, chiefly educational, as distinguished from the mere reading of substantive historical papers, took the chief place. The report of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in schools, presented in a provisional form, was made the subject of consideration at one of the sessions, at others the teaching of economic history, the use of sources in teaching, the opportunities for historical study in Europe, and the functions of state and local historical societies. The *Annual Report* for 1896, published at about

¹ See *American Historical Review*, XV. 10-11.

² *Ibid.*, III. 405-417.

the same time as that of the meeting, brought out the first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the first of those standing committees through which the Association has done so much of its best work for the profession.

From these significant beginnings it is not difficult to measure the progress which the Association has made between the dates of the first Cleveland meeting and the second. Progress of another sort may be measured by the fact that the membership, which in December, 1896, had been less than 600, and in December, 1897, stood at 928, stands now at 2445, and by the contrast, respecting means for useful works, between assets of \$10,885 in 1897 and of \$35,581 in 1919.

That the registration at the recent meeting should have reached a total of 316, a figure quite as large as that which has usually been attained when meeting in cities comparable with Cleveland, was especially gratifying in view of the present status of professional salaries, the high cost of railroad travel as well as of everything else, and the regrettable refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant those reductions of railroad fares which were customary in happier times. It was noticeable that an unusual number of the younger members of the Association were present. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, the American Political Science Association, the National Municipal League, and the American Association of University Professors met at the same time and place. A joint session was held with each of the first three, and at one of the luncheons the work of the American Association of University Professors was explained by its president, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The general opinion seems to have been that the meeting was exceptionally pleasant and successful. That it was so, was mainly due to the interesting programme provided by a committee of which Professor Elbert J. Benton, of the Western Reserve University, was chairman, and to the excellent arrangements made for all these societies by a committee of local arrangements of which the secretary was his colleague Professor Samuel B. Platner. All the sessions of the Association were held under one roof, that of the Hollenden Hotel—which makes it unnecessary this year to say a word on the banal theme of December weather—and indeed on one floor of that hotel. Even the excellent luncheons to which with generous hospitality the trustees of the Western Reserve Historical Society and of the Western Reserve University, on successive days, invited the members of the Association, were served in the ball-room of the hotel. The

trustees of the Cleveland Museum of Art and of the Historical Society provided special occasions for visiting their remarkable collections. The privileges of the Union Club and of the University Club, of the Women's City Club and of the College Club, were extended to the members of the Association, men and women respectively, during the days of the meeting. The College Club gave a reception to the women, the Union Club a "smoker" for the men. Appropriate votes of thanks showed the gratitude of the members for all this hospitable kindness.

At one of the luncheons there was a most interesting address by Mr. Alexander Whyte, M.P. for Perth 1910-1918, and at another Mr. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, who since then has been elected to the chair of imperial and colonial history in that institution, spoke of the new developments in historical instruction in London and other British universities, especially of the new provisions for advanced degrees, of the work of the British Universities Bureau and the British Division of the American University Union in Europe, and of the possibilities and advantages of mutual exchange of teachers and students between the two nations.

Of the dinner conferences which of late have become characteristic of the meetings, three were held on the present occasion. One was composed of members specially interested in Hispanic-American history, another of those specially interested in the history of the Far East, a third of those specially interested in the history of the Great War. The last was addressed by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, formerly senator from Indiana. All three performed a useful function in promoting acquaintance and the interchange of plans and suggestions among *Fachgenossen*. There was also a dinner of the National Board for Historical Service, at which that body, organized in April, 1917, to do whatever service historians as such could perform for government and public in war-time, now brought its labors to an end, and adjourned *sine die*. Finding itself, at the conclusion of its work, in possession of a fund of somewhat more than a thousand dollars, the Board offered that sum to the Association, to be maintained as a separate fund, to be called the Andrew D. White Fund in memory of the Association's first president, and to be used, appropriately to that title, for international historical undertakings, through the Association's representatives in the American Council of Learned Societies.³

One of the most noteworthy events of the Cleveland meeting was the organization of the American Catholic Historical Associa-

³ See pp. 440-446, *post*.

tion. Catholic historical societies have existed in the United States since 1884. Their number is now considerable, and the journals they publish are numerous and excellent, but they either are by intention, or have come to be in the main, local organizations, and there was real need for a society which, general to the whole country, should pursue the whole history of the Catholic Church, and perhaps especially of Catholicism in America, in a broad spirit, with all the resources of the best Catholic scholarship, and in close companionship with the national body, the American Historical Association. The initiative in calling such a society into existence was taken by the energetic editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, Professor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America. The meeting for organization, attended by some sixty or seventy persons, was presided over by Monsignor T. C. O'Reilly, rector of St. John's Cathedral, Cleveland. Professor Guilday, in an interesting address, reviewed the history of Catholic historical societies in the United States, and outlined the possibilities of usefulness that lay before the new organization. Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, speaking as one of the elder members of the American Historical Association, welcomed cordially the formation of the new society, and indicated some of the reasons for enthusiasm in the pursuit of American Catholic history. The society expects to hold one of its meetings each year at the same time and place as the American Historical Association. Dr. Laurence Flick, of Philadelphia, was elected its first president, Rev. Richard Tierney, S.J., and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., vice-presidents, Professor C. J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, secretary, Monsignor O'Reilly, treasurer, and Dr. Guilday, archivist. Its beginnings are made under excellent auspices.

The programme of the American Historical Association was composed, as has been usual, on the one hand of conferences and on the other hand of sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers; and too often, as has also been usual, the simultaneous occurrence of three different conferences or sessions brought confusion or dismay to those auditors who allow themselves to be interested in more than one field of history. In some instances the term conference meant nothing else than a series of four or five related papers, but in some there was real discussion. Of these, that which excited the widest interest was the one called for consideration of the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. Under the chairmanship of Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, this committee had been at work for more

than a year, at first under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service, but since February as a committee of the American Historical Association. It had held many conferences with representative bodies of school-teachers, and had published, in the *Historical Outlook* and elsewhere, much preliminary matter respecting its deliberations and conclusions. The number of that periodical for June, 1919, had contained the fullest statement of the committee's proposals, and the audience at the conference (somewhat more than two hundred in number) had copies of that statement before them. In the elementary school, beginning with the making of the community, the plan provides for the first six grades a progressive study of the making of the United States. For the junior high school, which must now be reckoned with, it provides a study of the history of the world, and of American history in that setting, culminating in the ninth grade in a study of community and national activities which involves a combination of recent economic and social history with commercial geography and civics. For the senior high school it provides a maturer study of modern European and American history and of social, economic, and political principles and problems. Like all programmes of educational improvement, it calls for completer preparation of the teacher, in a world which is constantly making the teacher's career more difficult to enter upon or to sustain; and Professor Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal School, in a capital paper, approving the programme in general, showed what teachers' training schools could and should do to meet its requirements. The remainder of the discussion is fully reported in the *Historical Outlook* for February. To an external observer, not versed in the problems of the schools, it seemed much like other educational discussions he had heard, wherein A and B and C urge that in the framing of a new curriculum more emphasis should have been laid on this or that or the other element, while on the other hand all agree that the new scheme already contains too much, that it will be difficult to introduce, and that it should be worked out in greater detail. Such an observer was inclined to think that the new programme, so carefully planned by the committee and so ably and open-mindedly defended on the floor by Professor Schafer, was a good one, well adapted to its purpose of meeting the exigencies of a rapidly altered world, and that if it did not include all desiderata it was not for want of having taken them into account.

There was also a joint conference of representatives of state and local historical societies and of state organizations formed to

deal with each state's part in the history of the Great War. The theme was the preservation and publication of war material. Mr. Wallace H. Cathcart, of the Western Reserve Historical Society, presided. Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, described the various lists, records, books, collections of newspaper clippings, printed ephemera, and the like, which the average historical society, not state-aided, in the average city might well accumulate; Mr. Frank M. Gregg, of Cleveland, his own remarkable collection of posters, post-cards, broadsides, pieces of music, and other fugitive printed matter, brought together primarily with a view to the illustration of mass-psychology and the workings of propaganda and emotional appeal. Others described systems for dealing with material, and the kinds of data embraced in official state surveys and state war records. The proceedings concluded with a formal session of the National Association of State War History Organizations, a body formed⁴ to secure greater uniformity and co-operation in the work of such organizations. The intelligence with which its plans have been developed has deserved for them a greater measure of co-operation than they have received. The chief feature of the present occasion was an elaborate report by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the agent employed by the association to carry out in military and other archives in Washington the great work which the common purposes of the constituent organizations require.

Another body, the Agricultural History Society, allied with the American Historical Association,⁵ held on this occasion for the first time sessions conjoint with those of the annual meeting. In its discussions the one paper of general purport was that of Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, on Possibilities of Intensive Research in Agricultural History. His main thesis was that many of the important influences of agriculture cannot be discovered until a large amount of intensive research has been applied to circumscribed fields of agricultural history. Various methods and sources and forms of presentation were suggestively considered. New light could be thrown upon many critical periods of political history, showing the reaction of the farming community to and upon the events of the time. Social histories could be written, compassing the whole round of country life, economic, social, educational, and religious. Finally, one could rewrite the general history of a state or a section, by filling in the important background of rural life, so fundamental to the picture, yet so largely omitted in most histories.

⁴ See pp. 72-78, 149-150, above.

⁵ See *American Historical Review*, XXIV. 527, and below, pp. 386-387.

The other papers read before this new society may better be described in the place into which they will naturally fall in our brief report of the papers read before the main society.

Another novelty in the programme, and one greatly to be commended, was the provision of a session for papers on the history of science. That studies in that field, either on the part of men of science or on that of historical students, have increased to such a degree that those who pursue them are conscious of an important common purpose and seek opportunities of fruitful mutual acquaintance, is of itself exceedingly gratifying; and the meeting was of a character to augur well for the continuance of such occasions in future programmes.⁶ The leading subject of discussion was that of the place and treatment of the history of science in the college curriculum. The discussion began with a paper by Dr. Henry Crew, professor of physics in Northwestern University, who showed ways in which the history of science might be made interesting and profitable to even quite young minds, and how general courses and courses special to the history of physics and chemistry, zoology and botany, by the teachers having charge of those disciplines, might be combined and conducted. Other points brought out in the discussion were, the need that students should not be tempted to undertake courses in the history of science until they knew something of the nature of science itself, by at least one laboratory course preceding, and that those whose function it is to teach general history, in various epochs, should not fail to lay appropriate emphasis on the relation of scientific progress to the advance of civilization.

Three papers on portions of the history of science were also read in this session. The first, by Professor T. Wingate Todd, of the medical school of the Western Reserve University, was an illustrated address on Egyptian medicine, showing its relation to ritual and superstition and the primitive practice prevalent in modern Africa, and the extent of the advance it achieved in dentistry, general surgery, therapeutics, and pharmacology. Professor Lynn Thorndike, of the same university, read a paper on the medieval scientist Peter of Abano, setting forth the facts of his life and writings and the extent of his contributions to astronomy, to medicine, and to the knowledge of Aristotle. Professor Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, traced the history of the development of algebra, through Egyptian, Greek, and Arabic mathematical thinking.

⁶ The conference is more fully reported, by Professor Thorndike, in *Science* for February 20.

The Association, and American historical students generally, have been disposed to give so little attention, relatively, to the intellectual history of mankind, that we must cordially wish great success to the new movement thus happily inaugurated.

We pass from the conferences of organized groups to the review of individual papers. The presidential address of Mr. William R. Thayer, on Fallacies in History, has already been printed in these pages.⁷ Another paper of general character was that of Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the University of Minnesota, on the Present Condition of Economic History.⁸ As against the inclination of historians to concentrate their attention on periods of economic history, and of economists to pursue it by topics, and the general tendency to make it dependent on either history or economics, he suggested the possibilities lying in the pursuit of what he called genetic economics, or the general theory of economic historical development.

Four papers, in addition to that of Dr. Todd already mentioned, were to be classed as falling in the domain of ancient history. In one, Mr. Oscar C. Stine, of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, described the characteristics of Egyptian Agriculture in Ptolemaic Times. In another, Dr. John R. Knipfing, of the Ohio State University, reviewed the writings of German Historians on Macedonian Imperialism, showing how the views of Niebuhr and Droysen were influenced by the changing political currents of their day, and how those of the present generation of German writers of Greek history, almost without exception ardent for Philip and bitterly hostile to Demosthenes, have been formed by the experiences of the period of Bismarck, the political conclusions deducible from his statecraft, and the rising tide of nationalistic imperialism. In a third paper, written apropos of the present Greek claim to a part of southern Albania, as historically Epirote, Professor Herbert Wing, jr., of Dickinson College, discussed the Epirus-Albania Boundary Dispute in Ancient Times. In the fourth, Professor David Magie, of Princeton University, sketched the history of Roman Policy in Armenia and its Significance. The subsequent discussion revealed much difference of opinion as to whether Armenia was chiefly valued by the Romans as a commercial or as a military highway between East and West.

Three papers dealt with the history of the British Empire. Pro-

⁷ Pp. 179-190, above; where, however, by a regrettable oversight, the footnote indicating the paper as a presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association was omitted.

⁸ Printed in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1920.

fessor Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title *England's Earliest Empire*, treated of the acquisition and status of that commercial empire which was composed of outlying trading-posts, with extraterritorial and other rights, and somewhat of the process by which this began to grow into a political empire. Professor A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, discussed the Organization of the Dependent British Empire, using that term to characterize the relations to the British crown of those territories that can neither be included among the self-governing dominions nor among the crown colonies enjoying some measure of representative government nor with the Indian Empire. The criterion suggested for the classification of a dependency within the British realms was that its inhabitants could make no valid treaties with external powers except through the medium of the king's government at Westminster. Attention was called to the way in which experience gained in dealing with the native states of India has guided the policy of the empire in its relations with protectorates. Finally, in a paper on *Some Problems of British Imperial Federation*, Professor Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, prefaced his account of present-day arrangements and of the various plans for the future with a narrative of the stages of development through which the empire has advanced, from the paternalistic exploitation prevalent in early days and the *laissez-faire* policy of the middle period of the nineteenth century, to the colonial and imperial conferences of 1887-1911 and the Imperial War Conference and Imperial War Cabinet instituted in 1917.

A great part of the interest, distinctly unusual in degree, with which the proceedings of the annual meetings were invested, arose from the frank dedication of large parts of the programme to consideration of present politics. Many of the papers in modern history ran well into the future, some lay entirely there. It will not be thought inappropriate if the present very condensed chronicle confines itself practically to such portions of the material as were strictly historical in character. Thus, in the session devoted to Russia, a joint session of the historical and political science associations, Mr. Jerome Landfield's paper on the Revolution of November, 1917, was a piece of history, while that of Baron Korff, formerly professor of law in the University of Helsingfors, related to the Future Constitution of Russia as seen by Russian Liberals. Mr. Landfield described the democratic traits of monarchical Russia and the social and economic conditions which led to the November revolution, and showed how an unscrupulous minority, carefully organized, took

advantage of war-weariness, hunger, and want, to bring itself into supreme power.

In an evening session which aroused more general interest than any other, Professors Charles H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University, spoke on the Franco-Prussian Frontier and the New Poland respectively, and Mr. A. F. Whyte reviewed the Operations of the Main Forces at the Peace Conferences of 1919. Mr. Haskins and Mr. Lord had had an important part in assisting at Paris the work of that conference; Mr. Whyte had watched it as representative of one of the chief London newspapers. Mr. Haskins's principal endeavor was to relate the past history of Alsace and Lorraine and neighboring lands and the old linguistic boundaries to the recent arrangement, to show the connection of the latter with problems of strategy and mineral resources, and to explain the manner in which international interests were influential in shaping the settlement, as respects especially the left bank of the Rhine, the Saar valley, and the mines. Mr. Lord dwelt little upon the previous history of Poland, but discussed the new Poland, its boundaries and its future, from the point of view of race, language, and religion. Mr. Whyte, in a brilliant address, sympathetic to the liberals of the world but premising that they had expected too much from the peace conferences, described the main currents of force at work there—the overmastering desire of the French for security, the attachment of Baron Sonnino to the old principles of the balance of power, the new conceptions of international order put forward by President Wilson, conceptions grateful to millions in Europe, and the dubious position occupied by the British prime minister in view of an election in which the “war-mind” had predominated—and the consequent necessity that the result should be a compromise. Yet it was a compromise which, thanks to President Wilson, contained the means of its own betterment.

In a conference devoted to the recent history of the Far East, Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, reviewed the technical aspects of the Shantung Question in the light of the historical events of the last twenty-five years, and criticized adversely the provisions of the recent treaty on the subject. Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, read a valuable paper on the Missionary Factor in the Chinese Situation, the historical portion of which appraised the results of Catholic and Protestant missionary endeavors in China, in mediating between East and West, in accelerating the adoption in China of elements from Western civilization, in increasing the influence of Western

nations and in some respects weakening the empire politically, in furthering political and social reform, in "westernizing" the educational system and democratizing learning, and in improving physical health. The paper of Professor Edmund D. Soper, of Northwestern University, on Democracy and Progress in Present-Day Japan, gave rise to an unusual amount of discussion, relating to the degree in which militarism and the democratic spirit respectively prevail or are likely to prevail in the Japanese empire.

On the colonial period of American history three papers were presented. That of Professor M. W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, on Slavery and the Beginnings of Industrialism in the American Colonies, has already appeared in these pages.⁹ That of Professor Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, on Materials for Study in West Indian Archives, was based on the labors of its author in the West Indian classes of the Colonial Office Papers at London, in preparing an inventory of that material for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The period to which the paper related was that between 1708, the date reached by the last-published volume of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and the year 1775; the material consists mostly of correspondence between colonial officials and the secretary of state and Board of Trade. Its uses for the student of the history of the British Empire rest on its value for the study of the commercial and diplomatic, and in a less degree the military and naval, relations between that empire and the other powers possessing colonies in the West Indies. To the student of the mainland colonies the West Indian correspondence offers material not only for the knowledge of intercolonial trade, but also for the better understanding, by comparison and contrast, of many elements in the development of the different communities on the continent.

To the history of colonial relations with the mother-country, Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, contributed a paper on the Colonial Agent as a Popular Representative, tracing in detail the development of that official, in the southern colonies, as a representative of the lower house in controversies with the governor and council, and showing how the necessity for the consent of governor and council in order to secure appropriations for the agent's salary and expenses limited the power of the lower houses to use him, and how and how far they prevailed.

In a later period of American history, the Foreign Policy of Alexander Hamilton was expounded, from materials in the archives

⁹ Pp. 220-240, above.

of the British Foreign Office, by Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, of Colorado College, in a paper read in a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Hamilton's genius had created American credit. American nationality depended on the ability of the new government to meet its financial obligations. Thirteen-fifteenths of American revenues came from customs duties on imports from England. This was the reason why Hamilton made peace with Great Britain fundamental in his policy, and why he "went behind" Jefferson's office, in secret negotiations which Dr. Bemis described.

In the same session, Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, set forth the American Position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, first with respect to the strict observance of neutrality by A. J. Donelson, minister to Prussia and to Germany, and secondly with respect to the efforts of Baron von Roenne, Prussian minister in Washington, to create a navy for Prussia and Germany, efforts considerably helped by the Polk administration, but abruptly checked by Taylor and Clayton. Another aspect of foreign relations in the same troubled period was covered by a paper of Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, of the Ohio State University, on Southern Opinion in regard to the Mexican War and the Accession of Territory. From his study of speeches, newspapers, and correspondence, published and unpublished, he concluded that the South did not support the Mexican War in its earlier period for the sake of conquest of future slave-states, but was forced by the Wilmot Proviso to become interested, in a negative and defensive way, in preventing the war from being used to serve an aggressive purpose by the enemies of slavery; and thus, toward the end of the war, there developed a strong Southern sentiment against acquisition of territory.

The paper by Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of the University of Colorado, on the miners' laws of the region now embraced in that state, is printed on later pages of this number.

Three papers bore on the history of the Civil War. One, in the military field, was that of Mr. Alfred P. James, of the University of Pittsburgh, on the Strategy of Concentration on the part of the Confederates in the Mississippi Valley in the spring of 1862, in which the drastic concentration effected by General A. S. Johnston at Corinth was described, and the effects of concentration unaccompanied by unity of command and followed by defeat were analyzed. The second of the Civil War papers was one of Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College, on the Internal Grain Trade of the United States during that period.^{9a} The third, figuring in a

^{9a} Printed in the *Iowa Journal of History* for January.

series concerning Nationalism in American History, was that of Professor Nathaniel W. Stephenson, of the College of the City of Charleston, on Lincoln and the Progress of Nationality in the North. He discussed with much acuteness the hindrances to the development of a complete nationalism which were presented by the anti-Lincoln secret societies—Sons of Liberty, Knights of the Golden Circle, and the like—rhetorical, infirm of purpose; by the profiteering element whose patriotism did not rise above the level of zeal for the American woollen industry; by the otherwise-mindedness and emotional individualism of Greeley and Wendell Phillips and the Cleveland Convention. Loyalty to the smaller territorial units had been broken down in the North, but it was still far from a complete nationalism. In Lincoln's influence in helping forward that consummation, characteristic elements were always his acceptance of federalism and the representative system as permanent features of our political science, but always his belief that the laboring masses were the part of the nation entitled to the greatest share of its benefits.

Continuing the subject of nationalism, in a paper entitled *Fifty Years of American Nationalism, 1865-1918*, Dr. Charles A. Beard, of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York, set forth nationalism as working in an economic pattern, capitalism first of all showing those national and international tendencies which were natural to it, then agrarianism and then labor adopting nationalistic principles. Finally, American Nationality and Recent Statecraft were considered by Professor William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, in a brilliant and thought-provoking paper on the history of the last six years. Substantially, it was an explanation and defense of President Wilson's course from the time when the outbreak of the Great War in Europe endangered his large programme of economic reform. He compared the President's delays upon decision and action in a divided country, in which neither party convention of 1916 advanced beyond neutrality, to the wise delays for which Lincoln was so warmly abused in March and April, 1861; described his effort, after entrance into war, as essentially an effort to incite the nation to victory by emotional appeals and yet to preserve the world from subsequent delivery to the forces of economic imperialism; and emphasized the reactionary quality of the opposition which had tied his hands in peace-making.

Of two papers in the history of the labor movement, that of Dr. Selig Perlman, of the University of Wisconsin, on the *Historical Basis of the Tactics of the American Federation of Labor*, argued

that history showed action through trade-unions to be more likely to be potent, under American conditions, than action through a labor party. The paper by Professor Frank T. Carlton, of De Pauw University, on Three Upheavals in the American Labor Movement, dealt with the premature but brilliant flare of unionism that marked the "thirties", extinguished by the panic of 1837, the extraordinary development of the Knights of Labor in the "eighties", its rise out of excess of immigration and its disintegration, and the movement of the last four years, in which the American Federation of Labor has grown from two million members in 1915 to three and a fourth millions in 1919, and he analyzed those elements in the present situation which forbade argument from earlier analogies.

In the sessions of the Agricultural History Society, besides the papers of Messrs. Kelsey, Stine, and Schmidt already mentioned, Mr. Lyman Carrier, of the Bureau of Plant Industry at Washington, read a paper on the Colonial Agriculture of Rhode Island, and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the Cyrus McCormick Library in Chicago, one on Some Aspects of the Agricultural Revolution of the United States in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. The former described particularly those traits of Rhode Island agriculture that flowed from the peculiarities of the Narragansett country. The latter gave attention mainly to the rise and increase, especially between 1830 and 1850, of agricultural journals and societies and fairs, books and libraries and state institutions helpful to agricultural progress.

Three papers were read in a session or conference devoted to Hispanic-American affairs, of which two were historical in character, that of Professor W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, on Latin-American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine, especially at the time of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute of 1895-1896, and that of Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina, on the views respecting the Monroe Doctrine expressed by the conservative Argentine publicist Alberdi. These two papers, we understand, are to appear later in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

Upon papers read before the Association, for which their authors, or the editors of journals, have not arranged another destination, the Association may naturally be thought to have some claim, and they are referred to the Committee on Publication. Papers of the Cleveland meeting approved for publication by that committee may be expected to appear in the *Annual Report* for 1919, unless omitted by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in the exer-

cise of the discretion vested in him by the act incorporating the Association.

The business meeting of the Association, which took place on the second afternoon, was notable among the annual meetings for the variety and importance of the matters which were laid before the members. In the absence of the secretary, Mr. Leland, kept away from the meetings by illness, Professor St. George L. Sioussat acted as secretary *pro tempore*. From the secretary's report it appeared that the total membership of the Association was 2445, a decrease of 74 from a year ago and of 481 from the figures of 1915, when the membership of the Association reached its highest point. The net loss, however, was smaller than in any of the three preceding years in which a loss had been sustained, being less by 61 than the loss of a year ago, while the number of members whose dues had been paid was over 200 greater than the corresponding number last year. It would appear that while a certain decline in membership has been inevitable because of the war, a decline which it may be said is not confined to the Historical Association, there are many reasons for believing that the downward tendency has now ceased and for expecting a substantial increase in members during the coming year. The secretary promised that a directory of the Association, in process of compilation, would soon be published as a part of the *Annual Report* for 1918. Attention was called to the refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant reduced fares on account of the meetings of learned societies, and members were warned to be on their guard against certain so-called historical societies which are in fact commercial organizations and which, because of similarity in names, are likely to be confused with the American Historical Association.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. Moore, showed the finances of the Association to be in a most satisfactory condition; the net receipts of the year were \$10,833, the net disbursements, \$8120, an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$2713. The assets of the Association in cash and in Liberty Bonds amounted to \$33,476, an increase since 1918 of \$2716; the American Historical Review Fund was reported as amounting to \$2105 in addition. The treasurer reported that the voluntary contributions of one dollar which had been requested from the members had amounted to \$1432. Nothing gives clearer evidence of a healthy condition of sentiment in the Association than so abundant a response to such a request, which it has been thought expedient to make each year rather than to pro-

pose to increase the annual dues, as so many societies have done, to five dollars.

The secretary of the Council, Professor Greene, reported, as required by the constitution, the decisions and recommendations of that body. A committee of three had been named to examine the records of the Association in Washington, destroy those of no value, arrange the others for permanent preservation, and prepare for publication such of the more important records of the Council and Association as might be deemed suitable. The Council had voted to take over in the name of the Association the associate membership in the American Council on Education previously held by the National Board for Historical Service. The Council had voted to suspend the Public Archives Commission and the standing Committee on Bibliography for the current year, and to refer the question of the future of these two committees to the Committee on Policy for consideration and report. Two special committees, however, took the place of the two standing committees thus suspended, a committee on the preparation of a primer of archives, consisting of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits and Mr. Leland, and a committee, headed by Professor George M. Dutcher, to co-operate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature, on the same general plan as that of C. K. Adams (1882). The Council voted to rule that only essays formally submitted to the Winsor and Adams prize committees should be considered as *having been entered in the competition*.

Other votes of the Council may be summarized as follows: The Committee on Publications was authorized to dispose of the unbound copies of the prize essays in stock; the Council committee on London headquarters was directed to give legal notice of the termination of the present agreement with the Royal Historical Society for the rental of the room (because of the institution in London of the British Division of the American University Union in Europe), to make such payments as might be necessary to meet the legal obligations of the Association in connection with the London branch, to dispose of the furniture and books on hand, and to express the thanks of the Association to the officers of the branch for their services; Professor Cheyney, chairman of the committee on the Bibliography of Modern English History, was authorized to take such preliminary steps as may be necessary, in conjunction with the British committee, for the resumption of the committee's work; it was voted to omit the customary meeting of the Council at Thanksgiving time; it was voted to discontinue the present board of ad-

visory editors of the *Historical Outlook* and in its place to create a new body to be called the Board of Editors, composed of five members who should serve for one year, who should co-operate with the present managing editor, and who should report such proposals respecting the future relations of the Association and the *Outlook* as might seem desirable at the end of a year.

Upon recommendation by the Council the Association voted to join the newly organized American Council of Learned Societies, and to authorize the treasurer to pay as the annual dues of the Association in the Council a sum not exceeding five cents per member. The Association also voted to adopt the following amendments to the constitution and to the by-laws:

For article IV., substitute the following:

Art. IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided by the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the Executive Council; they shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the Council may determine.

For article V. 1, substitute the following:

Art. V. There shall be an Executive Council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice-presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.¹⁰

To by-law IV. add the following paragraph:

The Council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the Association's business.

The Association voted that the next annual meeting should be held at Washington in the last days of December, 1920. It also voted to adopt an agreement which had been concerted with the Agricultural History Society, and which is printed on a later page, providing for a certain measure of affiliation between the two organizations.

The committee on the Adams prize reported that it had awarded the prize to Assistant-professor William T. Morgan, of the Indiana State University, for his essay entitled *English Political Parties and Leaders during the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710*, which is to be published as volume VII. of the Yale Historical Publications.

¹⁰ Sections 2 and 3 of this article provide for the eight elected members and for membership of ex-presidents in the Council.

The Association adopted expressions of regret at the retirement of the secretary of the Association, Mr. Leland, and the secretary of the Council, Mr. Greene, who had served since 1908 and 1913, respectively, and whose services have indeed been of inestimable value. Memorials of ex-presidents White, Henry Adams, Roosevelt, and Stephens, who had died since the last meeting of the Association, were adopted. The gift of \$1000 from the National Board for Historical Service, already mentioned, and designated as the Andrew D. White Fund, was accepted by the Association.

A report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by its chairman, Professor Charles H. Ambler of the University of West Virginia; in accordance with its recommendations Professor Edward Channing, first vice-president of the Association, was elected president, Mr. J. J. Jusserand first vice-president, Professor Charles H. Haskins second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett was elected secretary and Mr. Charles Moore treasurer. The new members chosen to the Council were Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University and Miss Ruth Putnam of Washington. A full list of officers and members of the Council and committees appears on a later page. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution as amended, the Council elected Miss Patty W. Washington assistant secretary-treasurer, and Mr. Allen R. Boyd, of the Library of Congress, editor. The Council re-elected Dr. J. Franklin Jameson to the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*, for the term 1920-1925, and elected Professor Dana C. Munro to the vacancy in the Board caused by the resignation of Professor Charles H. Haskins, the newly elected second vice-president.¹¹ Mr. Jameson and Professor Haskins were elected delegates of the Association in the American Council of Learned Societies.

J. F. J.

AGREEMENT WITH THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

It is agreed:

That the Agricultural History Society shall hold its principal literary meeting at the same time and in the same city as selected by the American Historical Association.

The Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* agrees to carry a special rubric "Agricultural History Society" in the section devoted to Historical News whenever a sufficient number of appropriate items shall be furnished by the society.

It is further agreed that a maximum of three hundred pages in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association be allotted to the

¹¹ Professor Munro has declined to serve.

Agricultural History Society, with full autonomy to act in the choice of material for that report, subject to the approval of the Committee on Publication of the American Historical Association and of the proper officials of the Smithsonian Institution.

Separate reprints of the section of the *Annual Report* devoted to the Agricultural History Society shall be furnished to the society at the cost of the same to the American Historical Association.

That the American Historical Association shall allow the following representation of the Agricultural History Society:

1. The president of the Agricultural History Society or a representative chosen by that official may attend the meetings of the Council of the American Historical Association and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the Agricultural History Society, but will not be granted a vote in the Council.

2. The chairman of the Publications Committee of the Agricultural History Society shall be *ex officio* a member of the Committee on Publications of the American Historical Association.

3. The secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural History Society shall be a member of the Programme Committee of the American Historical Association, and shall assist in arranging for the programme of the joint annual meetings.

That the terms of this agreement shall be in force until January 1, 1921, but may be extended for a definite or indefinite period by the mutual consent, at the annual business meetings in 1920, of the two organizations.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1918	\$ 3,253.28	
Receipts to date		
Annual dues	\$ 6,805.73	
Life membership dues	150.00	
Voluntary contributions paid with dues	1,432.00	
Sale of publications	400.87	
Royalties	85.72	
Advance payments for Directory	17.00	
Interest on investments	1,729.86 ¹²	
Interest on bank account	52.60	
Gift for London Headquarters	140.00	
Miscellaneous	19.02	10,832.80
		\$14,086.08
Sale of American Exchange National Bank stock	4,500.00	
Payment of mortgage	20,000.00	24,500.00
Total receipts		\$38,586.08

¹² This item includes \$518.57 received from accrued interest on Liberty Bonds.

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 2,008.83	
Executive Council	264.42	
Committee on Programme	24.00	
Committee on Publications	404.42	
American Historical Review	4,206.25	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	100.00	
Adams Prize Committee	200.00	
Winsor Prize Committee	200.00	
Committee on History and Education	103.60	
Writings on American History	200.00	
London Headquarters	144.40	
Accounts payable December 1, 1918	264.07	\$ 8,119.99
Liberty Bonds purchased (par value, \$26,200.00)	24,762.80	
Accrued interest on Liberty Bonds to date of purchase	518.57	25,281.37
Total disbursements		\$33,401.36
Balance on hand December 1, 1919		5,184.72
		<u>\$38,586.08</u>

BUDGET FOR 1920

APPROPRIATIONS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 2,500.00
Pacific Coast Branch	50.00
Nominating Committee	25.00
Membership Committee	150.00
London Headquarters	75.00
Programme Committee	150.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
American Council of Education	10.00
American Council of Learned Societies	125.00
Rio Janeiro Congress	25.00
Publication Committee	750.00
American Historical Review	4,400.00
Committee on Bibliography	75.00
Writings on American History	200.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History	150.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission	150.00
Adams Prize	200.00
Military History Prize	250.00
Committee on Policy	150.00
Committee on History and Education	350.00
Legal services	500.00
	<u>\$10,310.00</u>

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$ 6,800.00
Sale of publications	200.00
Royalties	75.00
Interest	1,350.00
Registration fees	125.00
Miscellaneous	75.00
	<u>\$ 8,625.00</u>

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

First Vice-President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

Second Vice-President, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.

Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(Until June 1, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.)

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.¹³

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Schouler,¹⁴

James Ford Rhodes,

John B. McMaster,

Simeon E. Baldwin,

J. Franklin Jameson,

George B. Adams,

Albert Bushnell Hart,

Frederick J. Turner,

William M. Sloane,

William A. Dunning,

Andrew C. McLaughlin,

George L. Burr,

Worthington C. Ford,

William R. Thayer,¹⁴

Herbert E. Bolton,

Henry E. Bourne,

William E. Dodd,

Walter L. Fleming,

William E. Lingelbach,

Ruth Putnam,

James T. Shotwell,

George M. Wrong.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting:

Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, chairman; Lyman Carrier and John C. Parish (*ex officio*), John S. Bassett, William K. Boyd, Marshall S. Brown, George F. Zook.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Thomas Nelson Page, chairman; H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, secretary; Charles Moore, and other members to be appointed.

Committee on Nominations: Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, L. I., N. Y., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Carl R. Fish, James G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Frank H. Hodder.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Frederic L. Paxson, 2122 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis., chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Clarence H. Haring, Frank H. Hodder, Nathaniel W. Stephenson.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Conyers Read, University of Chicago, chairman; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Charles H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

¹³ For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ The names from that of Mr. Schouler to that of Mr. Thayer are those of ex-presidents.

- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, J. Franklin Jameson, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on Membership:* Thomas J. Wertenbaker, 111 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, chairman; Louise Fargo Brown, Eugene H. Byrne, August C. Krey, Frank E. Melvin, Richard A. Newhall, Julia S. Orvis, Charles W. Ramsdell, James G. Randall, Arthur P. Scott, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., George F. Zook.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* George S. Godard, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, chairman; John C. Parish, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, secretary.
- Committee on National Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Charles Moore, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.
- Special Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman.
- Special Committee on Military History Prize:* Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., chairman; Frank M. Anderson, Allen R. Boyd, Albert Bushnell Hart, Fred M. Fling.
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RUSSIA AND THE DUAL ALLIANCE

IN view of the recent publication¹ by the French government of some of the diplomatic documents concerning the formation of the Franco-Russian alliance and the English edition by Professor Coolidge of the texts of the secret treaties of Austria-Hungary,² a survey of the circumstances leading to this dual arrangement will not be out of place at the present time. In several respects the course of European events preceding the consummation of this alliance, *i.e.*, during the years 1885-1891, is suggestive of the developments preliminary to the outbreak of the Great War. In each instance the Turkish Empire, the Balkan States, armaments, international finances, economic issues, and racial aspirations were contributing factors. In 1891, as in 1914, the forces centring about the Triple Alliance, instead of constituting a gyroscope of peace, were aggressively disturbing. But at the earlier period there was at least one recourse—the establishment of a temporary equilibrium. The Dual Alliance postponed, in 1891, that for which there seemed to be no substitute in 1914.

Many documents yet remain to be published before conclusions of permanent value can be reached in the diplomatic history of the Dual Alliance, particularly with reference to the international manoeuvring during the years 1887-1891, but enough information is revealed in recently printed material to justify a change of emphasis in several matters of importance. It has been generally assumed in much of the secondary literature on the history of the Dual Alliance that the accord was brought about primarily by French initiative and desire. The point of departure is usually the isolation of France. Russia's interest, induced by dissatisfaction with the results of the Congress of Berlin and by financial needs, is considered

¹ Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe: Origines de l'Alliance, 1890-1893; Convention Militaire, 1892-1899; Convention Navale, 1912* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1918). One of the first of these documents to reach the United States was kindly loaned to me by Dr. Richard A. Newhall of Yale University, who suggested the writing of this article.

² A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1878-1914*, English edition by Professor A. C. Coolidge (Cambridge, 1920). To Professor Coolidge I am indebted for generous permission to consult the advance sheets of this publication, and also the manuscript of a study of the diplomatic history of Europe, 1881-1914.

a passive factor, to be stimulated only by the prospect of deriving from the predicament of France the major advantages of this *mariage de raison*.

Without minimizing the importance to France of securing assurance against possible aggression resulting from the diplomatic position of Germany—or without attempting to assert the real inwardness of Bismarck's intentions—it may be stated that Russian isolation, even more than that of France, pressed for the assistance of an ally. From 1887 to 1891 the tsar was perhaps even more apprehensive of war, and for the safety of his country's possessions and prestige, than was the supposedly suppliant republic. However complacent Alexander III. may have felt after the revival of the *Dreikaiserbund* in 1881 and after the treaty of Skierniewice in 1884, it is clear that by 1887 his confidence in Russia's diplomatic position had been much weakened. This change may have been due partly to the modifications in policy of Russia's neighbors and partly to the development of aggressive influence within Russia. In any case, from 1885 on, if not from an earlier date, the foreign policy of Russia becomes involved in new complications, and is almost as difficult to explain with assurance as that of Bismarck.

At his accession, Alexander III. had indicated a strong interest in a policy of peace and a desire to retain liberty of action in the sphere of foreign affairs.³ His sincerity in this respect is not doubted even by his opponents, and his inclination for peace is assumed as a constant factor in the international situation of the late eighties. The traditional Romanov-Hohenzollern friendship is another fairly certain element in Alexander's policy. His interview with William I., soon after his accession, at Danzig in 1881, established personal contact and confidence between the two monarchs, and even more significantly, between the tsar and Bismarck. As long, therefore, as Alexander trusted Bismarck, which was practically until the chancellor's retirement, and as long as the general European *status quo* did not alter too much, the tsar did not regard

³ "The Emperor will first give his attention to the internal development of the State. . . . The foreign policy of the Emperor will be entirely pacific. Russia will remain faithful to her friends, she will unchangeably preserve the sentiments consecrated by tradition, and will, at the same time, reciprocate the friendliness of all States by a similar attitude, while maintaining the position to which she is entitled among the Powers, and assuring the maintenance of the political equilibrium." Circular to Russian diplomatic corps, *cit.* C. Lowe, *Alexander III. of Russia* (London, 1895), p. 78. Cf. also E. zu Reventlow, *Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik, 1888-1914*, second ed. (Berlin, 1915), p. 2.

Russia's isolation seriously.⁴ But when a shifting in the European alignment began to deprive the tsar of his advantageous position as an arbiter between France and Germany, and when Russia's freedom of action, especially in the Balkans, was menaced by new diplomatic combinations, Alexander began to doubt the value of Bismarck's assurance, to listen to those advisers who, like the Pan-slavists, the military party, or the "imperialists", desired a more aggressive policy, and to take steps for a French alliance.

By the treaty of Skierniewice (1884), which was a renewal of the understanding of the three emperors (1881), the tsar believed that despite the agreements of Germany, Austria, and Italy, Russia's position in the Balkans was assured, particularly against Austrian aggression with German backing.⁵ Bismarck in fact had no desire to fight for Austrian interests in the Balkans. There is nothing to show that he was not sincere when he expressed Germany's indifference in Balkan matters. Indeed, there are many reasons for believing that he was quite ready to see Russia at Constantinople.⁶ He told Crispi so very directly,⁷ and explained that Russia at the Bosphorus would be more vulnerable, and would also bring England closer to the Triple Alliance. But hardly had the three sovereigns separated when the events of 1885 revealed to the tsar that he had derived no particular benefit from reinsuring Bismarck and that developments very unwelcome to Russia might occur without his being able to prevent them. Germany might be depended upon not to help Austria, but was there any assurance that Great Britain and possibly Italy might not have to be reckoned with?

In the Balkans, Bulgaria pulled away from Russian leading-strings, and the revolution at Philippopolis in September, 1885, placed the stamp upon this independence. Austria's interference at the end of the year, to save Serbia from Bulgaria's unexpected mili-

⁴ "To all advances, Alexander III. replied that he intended to maintain freedom of action, adding that Russia needed no alliance, that no danger threatened her, and that she sought a quarrel with no one." N. Notovich, *L'Empereur Alexandre III. et son Entourage*, new ed. (Paris, 1895), p. 105; cf. E. Daudet, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, fourth ed. (Paris, 1894), p. 205.

⁵ S. Goriainov, "The End of the Alliance of the Emperors", *American Historical Review*, XXIII, 324-340 (January, 1918); E. de Cyon, *Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe*, third ed. (Paris, 1895), pp. 18, 35 ff. Cyon is apparently one of the first to publish any knowledge of the terms of this treaty (Coolidge MS.).

⁶ Sir Charles Dilke, *The Present Position of European Politics* (London, 1887), p. 15. "Bismarck must be willing to help Russia in the further East and . . . in the Balkans up to the point where Austria begins to kick."

⁷ *Memoirs of Francesco Crispi*, tr. M. P. Agnetti (London, 1914), III, 251 ff. Interview, Bismarck and Crispi, May 22, 1889.

tary prowess, further irritated Russia and developed more poignantly the realization of her weakness—despite counter-assurance—in the face of the Triple Alliance. In Egypt, the expedition of Gordon and the campaign of 1884–1885 were events tending to increase Russia's dissatisfaction with the situation in the eastern Mediterranean, and to cause many Russians to wonder if France could be the only power in isolation. The resentment with which the British received the Russian advance toward Afghanistan, and the warlike preparations with which the Panjdeh incident was met gave the tsar further cause for apprehension.⁸

Seriously, indeed, Alexander must have regarded the prospect if his conversation on this subject with Giers (Russian foreign minister) be correctly reported. In August, 1885, after a meeting with the Kaiser at Kremsier, Moravia, at which Bulgarian affairs were discussed, the tsar declared to Giers that the policy of the day was no longer a policy of dynasties but one of a combination of national interests.

Bismarck is giving us the first demonstration by ignoring the relations of kinship which exist between Romanov and Hohenzollern. I am his first example and I desire to establish in our foreign relations the principle of the protection of the rights of peoples as well as of dynasties. I suggest that you henceforth maintain a friendly attitude toward France with a view to being able, at the proper time and in case of necessity, to negotiate a formal alliance with her.⁹

"But such is impossible", answered Giers, recalling the attitude of France toward Poland, the revolutionary character of the French, and their hospitality to Russian revolutionary propaganda, and the danger in such an alliance for Russian internal affairs. The tsar, nevertheless, waved these objections aside, and insisted that such a course was his desire.¹⁰

Possibly the tsar had in mind Great Britain and even Italy as members of this "combination of national interests". Lord Salisbury, who was in office June, 1885, to January, 1886, and again for six years following August, 1886, was generally regarded as a friend of the Triple Alliance. He had publicly reflected upon Russian

⁸ For the significance of these incidents, cf. C. de Freycinet, *Souvenirs, 1878–1893* (Paris, 1913), p. 300 ff.; H. Friedjung, *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884–1914* (Berlin, 1919), I. 97; B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740–1914* (Princeton, 1916), p. 134.

⁹ Notovich, p. 105; cit. Lowe, p. 89.

¹⁰ Giers was generally in sympathy with Bismarck (Coolidge MS.) and was not in favor of the extension of Russian authority to Constantinople. P. Darmstaedter, "Die Vorgeschichte der Russisch-Französischen Allianz, 1891–1894", in *Preussische Jahrbücher* (June, 1919), CLXXVI. 396.

policy in Bulgaria, denouncing especially the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, and he was on good terms with the German chancellor. Bismarck, indeed, frequently manifested his interest in supporting British policy, particularly in the Mediterranean. In Egypt, he said, I am British; and he instructed his ambassador to London, in 1885, to cultivate British good-will. It was Bismarck, moreover, whom Italy approached preparatory to the renewal of the Triple Alliance (1887) with a request for the use of his good offices in securing an understanding between England and Italy. The growth of the Italian fleet and the expansion of Italy's Mediterranean aspirations had introduced her as a new factor in the Eastern Question, and she began to have an "attitude" toward even Bulgarian affairs. This attitude, in 1886, was not friendly to the Russian policy.¹¹

The tsar was undoubtedly aware of these tendencies, and knew perhaps that efforts were under way to bring about an agreement between England and Austria on Balkan matters,¹² and although his confidence in Bismarck remained, he may also have known that von Moltke and the Prussian "war party" believed that a struggle between Russia and Germany was inevitable and that 1886-1887 was the opportune time for the conflict.¹³ Such considerations may well have given greater influence to the growing anti-German, pro-French groups of Moscow and Petrograd. Although the absence of any real "parties" in Russia was one of her great sources of strength in regulating her foreign policy, and although the tsar was thoroughly in control of this branch of the administration, he could not entirely ignore the considerable development of anti-German feeling which became prominent about 1885. The Russianization of place-names and the assertion of Orthodoxy against Lutheranism in the Baltic provinces were part of the movement in which the violent attack by Katkov, in the files of the *Moscow Gazette*, against the treaty of Skierniewice and friendship with Germany and the financial policy of Witte, was the most conspicuous rôle.¹⁴

¹¹ Dilke, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 248, 270 ff.

¹² Cyon, p. 220, states that the real cause of the dismissal of Churchill from the cabinet was his opposition to Salisbury's policy of an alliance with Austria. He mentions a "mysterious" journey of Churchill to Berlin and Vienna in November, 1886. Dilke, p. 16, states that Austria, on October 16, 1886, declined the offer of an alliance with England, and that France on the same date declined the proffer of an alliance with Russia.

¹³ Friedjung, *op. cit.*, p. 107. The Austrian military attaché at Berlin supported this view of von Moltke and von Waldersee so strongly that Bismarck administered a sharp rebuke to him for meddling in politics.

¹⁴ Cf. files of *Moscow Gazette*, *cit.* Cyon, *passim.*; *Spectator* (London), November 26, 1892, p. 758; *Nation* (New York), July 14, 1887, p. 30, August 15, 1889, p. 127.

Ignatiev, Skobelev, and other important military men were working for military reforms, and were able, in 1885, to secure a considerable increase of Russian military strength in the districts along the German frontier. These men were partizans of an alliance with France, and hoped therewith to carry out an ambitious programme in the Balkans.

In France, however, no particular tendency to seek a Russian alliance was manifested by any significant elements in the cabinet, certainly not before 1887. Grévy was definitely opposed to such a measure, and the fact that Boulanger and many of his supporters desired a *rapprochement* with the tsar did not make for the approval of such a policy by the leaders of the republican groups. That "the government did not and would not understand that the only efficacious way of combating General Boulanger's Russian hopes was to show that France was frankly disposed to conclude an effective alliance" with Russia is a comment from the Russian side which naïvely indicates the real truth of the situation.¹⁵ Surely the attitude of the French government toward the Nihilists, its position in the Hartmann affair, Freycinet's promise of a pardon for Kropotkin, and the very abrupt recall of General Appert—personally so well liked by the tsar—from the Petrograd embassy, not to mention the law of June 22, 1886, against members of former reigning families, were not the elements of a policy calculated to allay the suspicions of the tsar regarding republican France or to pave the way for an alliance.¹⁶

The need of France for an "eastern ally" has been so thoroughly emphasized in consideration of "Weltpolitik", and the precedents for the alliance of 1891 so universally discussed that, in assuming the natural and inevitable character of the result, the Russian point of view has been somewhat discounted. The steps in the making of the treaty are regarded as a process of eliminating, primarily by the finesse of French diplomatic skill, the obstacles in the path of a real, working agreement between an absolutism and a democracy entirely antipathetic in everything except enemies and territorial ambitions. The weakness of France after 1870, the tsar's intervention in 1875, Russia's disappointment in 1878, and the menacing attitude of the general staff in 1887 seem to postulate the French supplication for an alliance.

But it is the negotiation for the renewal of the Skierniewice

¹⁵ Cyon, p. 391.

¹⁶ Freycinet, p. 433 ff.; V. de Gorlov, *Origines et Bases de l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, fourth ed. (Paris, 1913), p. 364.

treaty in 1887 which indicates the source for the initiative that eventually brought Russia and France into practical discussion of the details of an alliance. In 1886 the tsar had shown that he was not content with Russia's position in the Balkans; he was not sure of Germany's attitude toward Austrian aspirations, and he was doubtful of Germany's relations to Great Britain. Particularly in view of the approaching death of William I., Alexander felt that it was essential to be assured of Germany's stand. Failure to secure satisfactory assurance compelled the tsar not only to take the initiative in securing an ally, but also to overcome his repugnance for republics—particularly republics which harbored Nihilists and sympathized with Poles—and seek an understanding with France.

Bismarck could not or would not give Shuvalov in the negotiations for the renewal of the Skierniewice treaty, May, 1887, the guarantees desired; in fact, he read to Shuvalov (the first official presentation to Russia) the text of his treaty of 1879 with Austria. Thus he emphasized Germany's obligations to her ally and her limitations with regard to Russia.¹⁷ Bismarck was perhaps acting, thereby, with more sincerity and real consideration for Russia than even Alexander suspected. For the renewal of the Triple Alliance, which had been signed on February 20, 1887, was not so purely defensive as the first treaty. Germany had contracted to support Italy almost unconditionally against France in Africa, and Italy in return was pledged to help Germany against France.¹⁸ Italy, moreover, was busily engaged in securing the assistance of Austria and England in the formation of a Mediterranean agreement guaranteeing the *status quo*, including the Balkans as well as Africa. A series of notes from Vienna, London, and Rome had been interchanged, February to May, furnishing the basis for this arrangement, which was formally effected during the latter part of the year.¹⁹ Italy had also entered into an understanding with Spain, to which Austria later agreed, on Mediterranean questions.²⁰

Consequently, if the tsar had any inkling of these far-reaching combinations by which Russia was to be so completely isolated and so effectively checked in the eastern Mediterranean, he must have felt that his confidence in Bismarck was well placed, when the chancellor was ready to make a special, secret concession to Russia by which the tsar could still feel assured as against German help to Austria in a war with Russia, and by which his prospective ally,

¹⁷ Goriainov, p. 338.

¹⁸ Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

France, was not wholly exposed, regardless of his influence, to an attack by Germany.²¹ Incidentally, this secret agreement shows that Bismarck's reiterated emphasis on the importance to Germany of friendship with Russia was less misleading and subtle than is sometimes supposed. Alexander must have appreciated the fact, nevertheless, that Russia could not maintain her Balkan position by dependence upon the neutrality of Germany. He had, of course, foreseen a contingency in which he must make up his mind to seek a French alliance, but his mistrust of the Revanche party, and other grounds for timidity, prevented him from doing anything more than merely keeping the way open. The appointment of Baron de Mohrenheim, a keen advocate of the French alliance, to Paris indicated that Alexander planned to keep a wire open between the French capital and Petrograd.²²

In October, 1886, Alexander received favorably a *mémoire* prepared by Mohrenheim warmly advocating a *rapprochement* with France.²³ Incidentally, this is the very month in which Dilke reports the offer of a Russian alliance to the republic. In spite of the fact that Mohrenheim was temporarily recalled from Paris during several months of 1886, as a result of one of the frequent untoward interruptions in the relations of the tsar and the republic, Alexander directed him, after a personal interview on the subject of his *mémoire*, to endeavor, with the French minister for foreign affairs, to lay the foundation for the alliance.²⁴

During 1887 there were many incidents, aside from these centering about the renewal of the alliance, which impelled Russia towards France, and also constrained the French to be less diffident toward this approach. The passage of the Septennate, the Schnaebele incident, and the Suez Canal convention were matters upon which the two governments might take counsel in common. Flourens's advice to the Bulgarian delegates and the moderation of the French during the Schnaebele excitement were gratifying to Russian sensitiveness,²⁵ and strengthened the tsar in the economic clash with Germany which began with Bismarck's hostilities against Russian

²¹ Goriainov, p. 338 (June 18, 1887—the Reinsurance Treaty); cf. Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*.

²² J. Hansen, *Ambassade à Paris du Baron de Mohrenheim, 1884-1898*, second ed. (Paris, 1912). Freycinet, p. 440, states that the ambassador expressed his pleasure, on arriving in Paris, at having the mission of working for a *rapprochement* with France.

²³ Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁴ E. Flourens, *Alexandre III., sa Vie, son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1894), p. 311.

²⁵ Freycinet, pp. 303, 306, 369 ff.

securities in February.²⁶ The chancellor entertained, probably, no political motives in this policy, and assured the tsar at their meeting in November that Russia and Prussia had maintained, and could maintain, amicable political relations despite economic difficulties.²⁷ Nevertheless, Alexander published his ukase against the alien (German) ownership of land in the Baltic provinces, and in June a syndicate of French financiers began to agitate in the press for an alliance of French and Russian credits.²⁸

France also had her economic difficulties at this time. Following the assumption of office by Crispi, in July, a commercial war broke out with Italy, and in view of Crispi's ostentatious predisposition for the Triple Alliance, and possibly because Paris possessed some knowledge of Italy's Mediterranean manoeuvring, the French might well be seriously concerned.²⁹ Under these circumstances, M. Jules Hansen, a councillor of embassy, employed by the French government for special missions to the tsar, advised Flourens in October that Lord Salisbury was at Dieppe, and that if approached by Chaudordy (an old friend of the marquis) he might be found in a mood suitable for an understanding of value to France.³⁰ Hansen and Chaudordy were both partizans of the Russian alliance.

Chaudordy went to Dieppe, and with Salisbury arranged an agreement between Great Britain and France on matters relating to the Suez question and the New Hebrides. Then the possibility of a reconciliation of Russian and British interests was discussed, and even a Triple Entente was mentioned. Salisbury desired assurances from the tsar as to Afghanistan and the Straits; Britain might possibly quit the Nile. On receiving a report to this effect, Flourens was so much impressed with the attitude of Salisbury that he contemplated replacing Waddington at the London embassy by Chaudordy for further work along these lines. But this project—to the satisfaction of Crispi and Bismarck, it is reported—was blocked by Waddington's political friends. Hansen transmitted these plans to the tsar, who was interested and pleased, but he may have known only too well, that which Hansen found out a month later, that Salisbury was not very serious, or even sincere, in his discussion with Chaudordy. At least, from a telegram of the Italian chargé

²⁶ P. Petit, *La Dette Publique de la Russie* (Poitiers, 1912), p. 82 ff.

²⁷ Cyon, p. 362.

²⁸ J. Hansen, *L'Alliance Franco-Russe*, second ed. (Paris, 1895), p. 41 ff.

²⁹ A. Billot, *La France et l'Italie: Histoire des Années Troublées, 1881-1889* (Paris, 1905), p. 47 ff.; P. Albin, *L'Allemagne et la France en Europe* (Paris, 1913), p. 312 ff.

³⁰ Hansen, *Ambassade*, p. 54 ff.

d'affaires at London to Crispien he discovered that Bismarck was proposing an accord between Britain and the Triple Alliance, and that the British cabinet was favorably disposed to an understanding with Italy and Austria.

After the Reinsurance Treaty (June 18, 1887), however, the tsar felt somewhat more at ease, and for a short time believed that he was not yet pressed to take the inevitable step toward France. The republic might yet be compelled to make the first move. Katkov had been worsted in a struggle with Giers (May, 1887), and the Francophile group was in disfavor. But in France, as the discord with Italy increased, the financial interests worked more earnestly for Russian friendship, and the papal jubilee of 1887-1888 was employed as a useful channel for the development of diplomatic amenities.³¹ With the retirement of Grévy, at the end of the year, and the election of Carnot, there was one less obstacle in the path of the Dual Alliance.

Alexander, however, soon had cause to repent his coolness. He may have learned, in September, that Kalnóky had refused Bismarck's advice that Russian troops be allowed to enter Bulgaria, and he certainly could gather from Kalnóky's remark (November 5) to the effect that no *one* power could be allowed to intervene in the Balkans, that his feeling of assurance had been premature.³² Contemporaneously, furthermore, he learned of the "Coburg" correspondence, and at his meeting with Bismarck in Berlin on November 18, had a thorough discussion of Russia's relations with Germany—which, although relieving the chancellor of the charge of duplicity, was not altogether satisfactory.³³

Almost immediately after the tsar's departure from Berlin steps were taken to bring about an adjustment between Mohrenheim and Floquet, who was destined to become president of the council, but whose tenure of office would be embarrassing to an understanding with Russia, in view of his salutation to the tsar, in 1861—"Vive la Pologne, monsieur!". Without much difficulty, a meeting of Mohrenheim and Floquet was arranged, in February, 1888, and the tsar's

³¹ Daudet, p. 230. In conjunction with the papal chancellery, Lefebvre de Béhaine, French representative at the Vatican, procured the use of French offices for restoring good relations between the tsar and the pope, which had been broken, over the Polish situation, since the time of Pius IX.

³² Coolidge MS.

³³ Lowe, p. 92 ff.; Cyon, p. 362 ff. The "Coburg" correspondence purported to be an exchange between Ferdinand and the Countess of Flanders and Prince Reuss proving that Bismarck, false to his official assurances, was really supporting Ferdinand. The letters were perhaps fabricated in France, with a view to securing Russia's adherence to France.

representative found that, after all, he could continue to do business with the French government, even with a Floquet cabinet.³⁴

Rumors of war filled the atmosphere in the early days of 1888.³⁵ It was the general impression in Europe that Germany had failed to bring about a preventive war in 1887, partly because of the attitude of Russia, partly because of the moderation of France, and also because of the attitude of the old Kaiser. The conflict might come in 1888. Bismarck's actions appeared to confirm the expectation. Some of the bombast of his speeches may be attributed to parliamentary tactics, but his renewed hostility to Russian finance and his publication, February 3, of the text of the Austro-German treaty could not have been due solely to his interest in the vote of credits. His speech of February 6 announcing no fear of a Franco-Russian alliance and boasting of Germany's ability to place a million men on each frontier, and the speech of two days later directly threatening Russia, may have been intended to pass the budget by creating a new enemy for Germany, but they may have had also the object of making the most of a consummation which he could foresee. It is much to be doubted, however, that Bismarck had any intention of action against Russia. Intimidation fully served his purposes. The military convention which he concluded with Italy, in February, 1888, was a further guarantee of peace.³⁶

Bismarck had skillfully employed the good understanding which he helped to bring about between Italy and Austria, in the game with Russia, and the mediation which he effected between Italy and England served to secure Italy's support against France. Italy had thus derived no little benefit from the Bulgarian situation in particular, and the international alignment in general. In her various clashes with France she had received German support, and as a result of the Spezia "scare", early in 1888, she scored the triumph of bringing a British fleet into Italian waters.³⁷ To Russia this evidence of British friendliness for the Triple Alliance was a serious matter—doubly so, in view of the death of William I. in March, 1888.

Alexander did not like the new Kaiser personally, and his English connections were mistrusted in Russia as an important element in the much dreaded possibility of an Anglo-German *rapprochement*. Naturally, the tsar was not reassured when, almost immediately,

³⁴ Hansen, *Ambassade*, p. 69.

³⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV. 799-812 (December, 1888); *Nation* (N. Y.), February 9, 1888, p. 108.

³⁶ Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*. February 1, 1888.

³⁷ Billot, p. 127.

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the proposal of the Battenberg marriage to Frederick's daughter came up. Here indeed was a nefarious scheme, another British marriage alliance binding Germany and Britain together in a Balkan affair, to the exclusion of Russia. Considering the already distasteful and very manifest collusion of Austria, Italy, and Britain upon Balkan matters, it was apparent that Russia was being gently but firmly eliminated from the Eastern Question. Still convinced, however, of the importance of not pushing Russia too far, Bismarck succeeded in preventing the marriage proposal from amounting to anything. But the tsar had evidently concluded that he could not longer wait for France to assume the initiative in further steps toward the alliance. Conversations were in progress between Paris and Petrograd on the question of Russia's armament. The tsar's brother, Grand-duke Vladimir, came to Paris to "inspect" the new Lebel rifle, and was followed by General Fredericks of the Russian General Staff, who proposed that the 500,000 new rifles desired for the Russian army be manufactured in the French arsenal of Châtellerault.³⁸ Meanwhile (March, 1888), a comprehensive reorganization and development of the French army was begun by Freycinet; the process of mobilization was greatly improved and the output of material increased. Financial "mobilization" with Russia was also developed by the floating of the first Russian loan in France, December, 1888.³⁹

There was hardly time for the tsar to feel relieved by Bismarck's prevention of the Battenberg marriage, and the death of Frederick, when the personality and policy of William II. presented new causes for anxiety. In view of the zeal with which the new Kaiser rushed to Petrograd, in July, a month after his accession, the results were singularly unimpressive, and, for the tsar, not very significant. Either the tsar could not feel the cordiality which had played some part in his relation with William I., or he may have been restrained by the consideration of the fact that he had probably already determined to ally himself with France. Perhaps he did not enjoy dissembling; he was certainly very cold to his visitor, and delayed the return visit over a year, until October, 1889. Even then he approached Berlin on his way home from a vacation in Denmark. The popular reception was unenthusiastic, and the tsar was obviously indifferent to his host's cordiality.⁴⁰

³⁸ Freycinet, p. 414 ff.

³⁹ Cyon, p. 237 ff. Cyon maintains that the working up of the financial accord with France was primarily the effort of Russia, and denies that it was due to French initiative.

⁴⁰ Lowe, pp. 91-92; *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV. 799.

It was on this occasion of the tsar's being in Berlin that, in a private interview, the tsar asked Bismarck if he were sure of remaining in office. Bismarck's reply, to the effect that he would remain indefinitely, undoubtedly added to the bitterness of his proximate dismissal.

Almost immediately after the tsar left Berlin, the Kaiser hastened to Athens to attend his sister's marriage, and then—to visit the sultan at Constantinople. Bismarck had disapproved of this course of action, and subsequently used the incident to sow discord between Berlin and Petrograd. The suspicion naturally engendered in Russia at this most unusual visit of the Kaiser was by no means lessened by the meeting being held at that very moment in Brussels (November) by the Anglo-German commission for the arrangement of colonial interests in Africa. Such action portended, from the Russian point of view, an increasing German interest in the Eastern Question, and a British satisfaction in that increase. The subsequent Turkish railway concessions to German enterprise did not tend to lessen the portent, so far as Russia was concerned. Nor did the incidental visit of the Kaiser to Rome, and his speeches about the English fleet and the Triple Alliance, improve the Russian outlook.⁴¹

During 1889 the most significant factors, internationally, for Russia were the growing military strength of France, the increasing stability of the republican government, and the increasing affection of the young Kaiser for the British navy. In France, the progress of military reform had made the republic once more a first-class power, and the triumph of the cabinet over Boulanger had indicated that there was a government behind this armed strength. In England, William II. reviewed the British fleet and declared (August) that Germany and England must stand or fall together; and again, in addressing one of his regiments of which Victoria was honorary colonel, that the British navy and the German army must keep the peace and develop "Kultur".⁴²

Bismarck's dismissal early in 1890 removed the last obstacle in the way of Russia's approach to France—not so much because in him, now that the old emperor was gone, the tsar had lost the last German friend in whom he had confidence, as that the new Kaiser was launching an entirely new policy which desired friendship with England and with France, if possible, and which involved the vigorous extension of German, as well as Austrian, influence into the

⁴¹ Billot, p. 124; Reventlow, p. 14.

⁴² Reventlow, p. 28.

Levant. To begin with, Caprivi refused to renew the secret Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, whose expiration was due June 15/27, 1890. The German authors have choked a bit in their efforts to account for this refusal and are at variance whether to condemn or praise. To avoid admitting Germany's Levantine ambitions and approving a policy of friendship for perfidious Albion, they are inclined to attribute the move to the unwillingness of the chivalrous emperor and the "war party" to continue a policy of duplicity or betrayal with regard to Austria.⁴³ Or, they state, the policy of "double insurance" was too cumbersome and too complicated.⁴⁴ At any rate, the rejection of the agreement with Russia indicates an apparent indifference to a Russo-French alliance. It is possible that the Kaiser believed that he could supplant Russia in the East and still remain on good terms with Britain.

In June and July, 1890 (June 14, July 1), treaties were signed by Britain and Germany at Brussels relative to colonial affairs, particularly Helgoland and Zanzibar, and in the following month, as if to take the edge from this Anglo-German amity so far as Russia might be affected, the Kaiser paid a second visit to Alexander, and participated in the manoeuvres at Narva. But the graciousness and amiability which were later so effective with "Nicky" did not charm his father. The visit was not returned until two years later (June, 1892), at Kiel, where the tsar did not even spend the night, but after a banquet at the Schloss sailed away into the Baltic.⁴⁵

At Narva was also present General Boisdeffre of the French General Staff. Reporting Boisdeffre's impressions to Ribot, then at the Quai d'Orsay, Laboulaye, ambassador at Petrograd, wrote, August 24, 1890, that "the *rapprochement* of France and Russia which, hardly three years previously, seemed like an illusion, an optical illusion by which we allowed ourselves to be deceived, has little by little become so real, so solid that a *visite à effet* like that of the Emperor William could not be considered by anyone as capable of injuring it".⁴⁶

In this same report, moreover, Laboulaye announces that "contact has been established between the two general staffs". The

⁴³ O. Hammann, *Der Neue Kurs: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1918), p. 43 ff.; Reventlow, p. 27 ff.

⁴⁴ P. Rassow, review of *Der Neue Kurs*, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CLXXI. 118 (January, 1918). Cf. C. G. Robertson, *Bismarck* (London, 1918), appendix B., which sums up this question in the light of information available (1918); particularly the explanation offered by Hohenlohe, *Memoirs* (London, 1906), II. 476.

⁴⁵ Lowe, pp. 105-106.

⁴⁶ *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, p. 1.

assistance which the French had been giving Russia in the matter of the manufacture of rifles, smokeless powder, and advice about army organization and administration had been supplemented by a working agreement for co-operation. Obviously, therefore, Russia and France had been approaching an understanding for some time previous to Bismarck's retirement. It is probable that, even though Laboulaye's reference to three years may not have been consciously precise, this approach became definite as early as 1887. Perhaps an "indefinite" approach may have been started even earlier in consequence of Alexander's conversation with Giers, as above recounted.

It is possible that the emphasis upon the military arrangements—naturally occasioned by some real sense of imminent danger—is to be associated with a report, entirely unsubstantiated and apparently of the realm of journalistic thrills, made by Notovich in his book on *Alexandre III. et son Entourage*.⁴⁷ In connection with the known facts, however, especially those presented in the Yellow Book here dealt with, this report is too plausible to be entirely passed over. The report concerns the "complot de 1891", which, as conceived by Notovich, is interestingly like that of 1914, except that Belgium and Britain are not discounted. The plot, guided by the Germans, and shared by Austria and Italy, consisted in the plan for a sudden, crushing attack upon France, followed by one upon Russia. Weighed down by the expense of their own armaments, and growing comparatively weaker with time, the Triple Alliance could not afford to wait until France assisted Russia in the building up and strengthening of her armament.

Clearly, the general tenor of this supposed "complot" is not wholly imaginary. Rumors of some British connection with some plans of the Triple Alliance, or a "League of Peace" as the association was euphemistically called in the contemporary discussion, caused an interpellation in the House of Commons, August 19, 1889. As reported in the *Times* of the following day, the answer was negative, but not convincing: "Her Majesty's Government have entered into no engagements fettering their liberty in that respect . . . namely, that the action of Her Majesty's Government, in the event of war breaking out, will be decided, like all questions of policy, by

⁴⁷ Final chapter. The details of the "plot" included a sudden invasion of Belgium, which Leopold II. was to permit in return for pecuniary compensation and the annexation of the neighboring departments of France. Benevolent neutrality was expected of Great Britain in return for a free hand in Egypt. The signal for action was to be given, as in 1914, in the Balkans, where Ferdinand was to proclaim the independence of Bulgaria and thus precipitate an aggressive move by Russia and France.

circumstances of that particular time and the interests of the country."

Meanwhile, Europe wondered also at the effusive efforts of William II., late in 1890 and early in 1891, to win the friendship of France—or to allay her suspicions. Why the imperial condolences on Meissonier's death, the cordial invitation for French participation in the Berlin art exhibition, and especially the visit, most unusual in its character, of the Empress Frederick to Paris in February, 1891?⁴⁸ Petrograd apparently regarded these demonstrations as serious enough to call for a timely reminder to France. In a despatch sent by Giers to Mohrenheim at Paris, it was stated that Russia assumed the liveliest interest in the incidents of the empress's visit. "The entente cordiale which has so fortunately been established between France and Russia is the best guarantee of peace. While the Triple Alliance is ruining itself with armaments, intimate accord of our two countries is necessary to maintain in Europe a just '*pondération des forces*'."⁴⁹

In transmitting these sentiments to the French Foreign Office, Mohrenheim added that the accord between the two countries is now solid "*comme du granit*", and Ribot replied, "*Nous sommes reconnaissants du gouvernement russe d'avoir choisi pour nous rappeler la nécessité de cet accord l'occasion des derniers incidents*". Apparently it was Russia who was especially concerned about the "*pondération des forces*". Here again is reference to the fact that the entente has been in existence for some time. But no information is vouchsafed as to the exact, or even approximate, time at which either the French or the Russians made the move for a definite establishment of the understanding. It is fairly clear that the question of a visible manifestation of the entente was discussed as early as 1889, which means presumably that the actual accord preceded, dating perhaps, as has been indicated above, from 1887.⁵⁰

The visible manifestation under discussion in 1889 was the project of the visit of the French fleet to Russia. To have the first move appear to come from France may have explained why the suggestion emanating from Laboulaye, and perhaps originating in the Russian Foreign Office, was not taken up actively in Paris. Frey-

⁴⁸ Albin, p. 281 ff. Freycinet, p. 458, states that so seriously did the emperor consider the possibility of an affront to his mother that he sent preliminary mobilization orders to General von Waldersee, the chief of the general staff.

⁴⁹ *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, no. 2, March 9, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Hansen, *Alliance*, p. 57.

cinet states⁵¹ that in conjunction with Barbey, minister of marine, he sent instructions, toward the end of 1890, to the military attaché at Petrograd to bear in mind the recent *rapprochement* of the army officers of the two countries and carefully to observe opportunities for bringing about a similar relationship of the naval officers. The formation of the Freycinet cabinet, March, 1890, with a strong backing in the Chamber, made possible a step which was certain to pave the way for the "visible manifestation" and the alliance itself. Upon May 29, at the request of Petrograd, the French police arrested several Nihilists who were plotting against the tsar. Further arrests were made subsequently. And soon after, in June, the question of the visit of the fleet again came up and was approved in principle by the cabinet. It might be assumed, therefore, that Russia was even more desirous of an alliance than France.

Three days before the French fleet put in at Kronstadt, July 18, 1891, a despatch, the whole of which is apparently not printed, from Laboulaye to Ribot, reports an intimate conversation of the ambassador with Giers, at Petrograd, apropos of the renewal of the Triple Alliance (March, 1891). In view of the "accession indirecte de l'Angleterre" to the Triple Alliance, Giers inquired of Laboulaye, "si la situation nouvelle faite par cet événement à la France et à la Russie ne rendrait pas désirable un pas de plus dans la voie de l'entente".⁵²

Obviously, it is Britain's shift of position which threatens the *pondération* of forces, and it is Russia whom this shift most affects. France had known British enmity before, for the inclusion of Britain in the iron circle about the republic is one of the master-strokes attributed to Bismarck's policy, and Fashoda was not yet on the map. Russia also had met British opposition, but not in conjunction with Germany, Austria, and Italy in the field of the Eastern Question.

Following the inquiry of Giers, exchanges were undertaken which led to the project of an alliance.⁵³ The European equilibrium is already affected, says this first project, by the treaty which has again united the Central Powers, a treaty which, however pacific the intentions of its authors, threatens serious complications because of the conditions upon which the Triple Alliance has been renewed. The expected prolongation of the engagements of this alliance, which are carefully kept secret, coincides with certain exchanges of views between England and one of the allied powers, the character

⁵¹ Freycinet, p. 443 ff.

⁵² *Documents Diplomatiques*, no. 3, July 18, 1891, pp. 3-4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1891, p. 6.

of which has not been definitely established, but which appears to have the effect, in specified matters, of assuring the Triple Alliance of the more or less direct support of Great Britain.⁵⁴

Another factor in the suspected upset of the equilibrium, and one which is perhaps not unrelated to the details of Notovich's "complot", was the suspicion, indicated by implication in the Franco-Russian correspondence, that a sudden attack on the peace of Europe might be meditated. Ribot wrote to Laboulaye, July 24, 1891, that the renewal of the Triple Alliance under the circumstances known to have accompanied it, ought naturally to encourage the two governments to realize the importance of an intimate *rap-prochement* to protect "contre toute surprise la paix générale dont cet équilibre demeure, à leurs yeux, la plus sûre garantie".⁵⁵

Indeed, Ribot stated, and included in the preliminary project for the alliance, that "if one of the powers of the triple alliance should mobilize its forces, France and Russia, without the necessity of preliminary agreement, shall immediately . . . mobilize theirs". At this point in the negotiations, the French are distinctly pushing the Russians for a clear, definite arrangement. They may have been more fully cognizant of danger, or they may have been acting simply with the precision of French logic.⁵⁶

The tsar, on the other hand, appeared to be inclined to proceed more slowly in committing himself to a definite, written agreement. He may have felt that such would have been to give *carte blanche* to the French party of Revanche, which he greatly feared, or he may have hoped, by delay and negotiation, to secure the best of the bargain, and commit France to more than a narrow defensive arrangement.

Russia certainly desired to go further than France in the scope of the alliance. Laboulaye wrote to Ribot, August 5, 1891, that he felt that the Russian government wanted a broader field for the action of the entente; the agreement should be for the maintenance of peace in general, not peace restricted to Europe. "La paix, m'a dit M. de Giers, peut être troublée en Égypte, en Chine, par des calculs qui visent cependant la situation en Europe; je ne parle pas, a-t-il ajouté, de la Turquie, puisqu'elle compte au nombre des puissances européennes." Giers was also unwilling to have the entente operative only in case of the peace being endangered by the "initiative" of one of the powers of the Triple Alliance.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Documents Diplomatiques*, July 23, 1891, p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 5, July 24, 1891, p. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 7, August 5, 1891, p. 8.

Ribot clearly appreciated the Russian objective, as he indicated in a report to Freycinet in which he emphasized Russia's wish for a general understanding extending the "peace beyond Europe". "Russia is evidently preoccupied with eventually securing our assistance against England, whom she affects to consider as already bound up with the Triple Alliance."

Giers feared that the peace would in fact be disturbed in Egypt by calculations already evident, and dreaded lest the sultan become too readily reconciled to the British solution of the Egyptian situation.⁵⁸ On August 9/21, 1891, he informed Mohrenheim that the tsar had approved the principles of the entente and viewed with favor their adoption by the two governments.⁵⁹

On the basis of these principles, Giers transmitted instructions to Nelidov, ambassador at Constantinople, December 14, 1891, which contain a clear expression of Russia's relation to the Dual Alliance. After emphasizing the prime importance of the Eastern Question, he states that the alliance has not altered the situation respecting the Turkish Empire.

We must renew our efforts to maintain the *status quo* and with this object, to assure the Sultan of the freedom of his decisions, and to prevent others from exercising an influence upon him contrary to our desires. You, yourself, have frequently advised us of efforts made by certain powers of the Triple Alliance, backed by England, to intimidate the sovereign of Turkey and, profiting by the attacks of fear and weakness to which he is unfortunately inclined, to force him into acts which would be of a nature to compel Turkey to depart from the path of strict neutrality.⁶⁰

Nelidov is therefore to assure Abdul Hamid, encourage him, and convince him that the new alignment of forces in Europe has re-established the equilibrium, and that the union of Russia and France is capable of guaranteeing him, henceforth, against any possible aggression by the other group of powers. Russia's intentions are not aggressive; she desires only the *status quo*. Her ally, France, does not harbor designs against Tripoli; she is, on the contrary, disturbed by the presence of British troops in Egypt and the British disposition to upset the equilibrium in the Mediterranean to the advantage of Italy. Russia intends no interference in Bulgaria and calls the attention of the Porte to the real, increasing influence of Austria in Bulgaria and Macedonia, particularly in the direction of Salonica. France is in accord with Russia on the policy of non-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 10, August 6, 1891.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, annex to no. 17, p. 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 24, December 14, 1891, p. 28.

interference in Bulgaria, and of no recognition for the present "illegal government".

The sultan cannot remain unaware, Nelidov is instructed to point out, of the significance of the repeated appearance of British naval forces, recently in conjunction with Italian units, in Ottoman waters. Their presence, indeed, in the Levant, has become almost permanent.

That Russia has succeeded in deriving some satisfaction in her ambition to secure assistance for her eastern policy, by entering the Dual Alliance, is shown not only in these instructions just cited, but also from almost identical instructions sent by Ribot to Paul Cambon, French ambassador at Constantinople,⁶¹ in January, 1892, emphasizing the French interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* and the equilibrium, as well as the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Cambon is to warn the sultan of the efforts of the Central Powers to disturb the situation and to destroy the existing peace. A division of the French Mediterranean squadron will be stationed permanently in Levantine waters.

Thus, if there was a definite scheme on the part of the Triple Alliance to precipitate the Great War in 1891 or thereabouts, it had to be postponed in the face of the Dual Alliance. France was relieved from her isolation and given some assurance of her national safety, and Russia saved her position in the Eastern Question from isolation and acquired the support of France.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

⁶¹ *Documents Diplomatiques*, no. 25, January 16, 1892, p. 32.

THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA

CASSIUS M. CLAY, minister of the United States to Russia, wrote on May 10, 1867, to Secretary Seward that in 1863 Robert J. Walker, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's Cabinet, had told him that "the Emperor Nicholas was willing [supposedly during Polk's administration] to give us Russian America if we would close up our coast possessions to 54° 40'".¹ If such a proposal was actually made, there is not a word regarding it in the Russian diplomatic papers of that time and not a hint that the ministers of Alexander II. had ever heard of it. The first intimation of a possible transfer of the territory was made just before the outbreak of the Crimean War, and that was merely a "make-believe". Russia had no fleet in the American waters to protect her colonies and there was reason to suppose that England would seize them. In order to prevent this act of war the agent of the Russian American Company, P. S. Kostromitinov, devised a fictitious sale of the territory to a San Francisco concern known as the American Russian Commercial Company, represented by Lucien Herman, its vice-president.

The contract, with blank spaces for the insertion of the date of the sale and the purchase price, was sent from California on January 18/30, 1854, for approval to the Russian legation at Washington. In due time it reached the minister, Stoeckl, who consulted with Marcy, secretary of state, and Gwin, United States senator from California, as to the wisdom of making the transaction public. They were of the opinion that England could see through it and would not respect it, and left him to draw his own conclusions.

While the Russian agents in America were busy trying to snatch Alaska from the hands of Great Britain, the Russian American Company at Petrograd was engaged in a somewhat similar undertaking. Having obtained imperial authorization, the head of the company addressed a letter to the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company

¹ *House Ex. Doc. 177*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 12. [Where no other indication is given, the statements made in the article rest on passages in the correspondence of Edward de Stoeckl, the diplomatic representative of Russia at Washington from 1854 to 1868, with the Russian ministry of foreign affairs. When Mr. Golder was preparing his *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, published in 1917 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he was allowed to examine the correspondence of the Russian Foreign Office with its diplomatic representatives down to the year 1854; at a subsequent time, however, his permission was extended to 1870. Ed.]

proposing that the neutrality of each other's possessions and ships in northwestern America be guaranteed. On March 23, 1854, the Hudson's Bay Company, on the advice of the Foreign Office, accepted the offer in so far as it related to the territory, but reserved for the English fleet the right to capture any Russian ship in the North Pacific, no matter to whom it belonged, and to blockade the Alaskan ports.

When the neutrality agreement became known the talk of selling the territory was naturally dropped. In order, however, to protect the ships Stoeckl asked Kostromitinov to send them south to San Francisco "to be sold only in form to the American Russian Commercial Company", which should use them to trade with Sitka and Kodiak. Judging from his answer it would seem that the president of the American company, Beverly C. Sanders, threw cold water on the proposal, believing that England would in the end secure possession of Alaska and that under the circumstances it would be to the interest of his organization to keep on the right side of the victor.

Though the real nature of the transaction did not become generally known, yet reports came out that Russia was anxious to sell Alaska to the United States. That part of the press which was friendly to England and France made use of this rumor and of a certain amount of circumstantial evidence, such as the arrival of one Dr. Cotman at the Russian legation in Washington, to show that the tsar's government was in such dire financial straits that it was obliged to sell its possessions. In the course of time the papers succeeded in convincing a number of people of the truth of this assertion. Even Marcy and Gwin, who knew about the fictitious sale, began to wonder whether after all there might not be something in the report; and one day they went to Stoeckl and told him that if Russia would sell, the United States would buy, and pay handsomely. Stoeckl assured them that there was not a grain of truth in the newspaper talk and asked them to forget about it. He feared, however, that they would not and that the idea would implant itself too firmly in the minds of the Americans to be easily uprooted. "Ils sont des voisins dangereux et nous devons éviter de leur donner la moindre prise", he wrote to his government. He probably would have felt more kindly toward the newspapers had he known then what he learned later from Marcy, that it was this very rumor and fear that Russia might sell Alaska to the United States which influenced England to agree to the neutralization of the British and American possessions in the Northwest, a wholly one-sided arrangement and altogether favorable to Russia.

The real promoter of the sale of Alaska was no other than the Grand-duke Constantine, brother of the Tsar Alexander II. On March 23/April 4, 1857, he wrote a letter to Gorchakov urging the transfer of the Russian American possessions to the United States. He gave three reasons why this should be done: (1) the small value of the colonies to Russia, (2) the great want of money, and (3) the need of the territory by the United States to round out its holdings in the Pacific. He suggested that in order to determine the worth of the property the retired officers of the company, Baron Wrangell and others whom he named, should be consulted, but he cautioned against taking their figures too seriously, since they were stockholders of the company. The matter was referred to Wrangell, and he put the selling price of the colonies² at 7,442,800 rubles silver, one-half of it to go to the company in payment for its 7484 shares and the other half to the government.

In the course of a month Gorchakov made a report to the grand-duke based on the opinion and estimates given by Wrangell. He explained the necessity of caution and secrecy in order not to injure the interest of the Russian American Company. At that time the company was having some misunderstandings with the American Russian Commercial Company of San Francisco about a contract made in 1853, and Gorchakov proposed to let the matter rest until these differences were adjusted.

Stoeckl in Washington was having trouble in protecting the interests of the Russian American Company. Each year more and more Americans were settling in the Oregon Territory, and this colonization made him uneasy. "*L'établissement des Américains*", he wrote to Nesselrode in January, 1856, "*dans le voisinage de nos possessions Nord Ouest mettra ces derniers dans un danger réel et deviendra une source d'embarras et de tracasseries entre les deux gouvernements.*" In November, 1857, he reported to Gorchakov that the situation was becoming very embarrassing. According to the treaty of April 5/17, 1824, between Russia and the United States, it was agreed "that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the Northwest coast". Russia enforced this article of the treaty; the United States did not. The Russian American Company's ships could enter San Francisco and its agents could open offices and stores there, but American

² The Alaska mainland, the Aleutian, and the Kuril Islands.

vessels and agents were not allowed the same rights in the Alaskan ports. The Americans were naturally and justly indignant and threatened more than once to close their harbors not only to the company's but to all Russian ships, which by treaty they claimed a right to do. Each year the complaints became louder, and Stoeckl predicted that in the near future this one-sided arrangement would bring on strained diplomatic relations between the two nations.

The grand-duke learned of this report and taking it as a text he sent (December, 1857) another note to Gorchakov impressing upon him more strongly than before the necessity of getting rid of the colonies. He was no friend of the Russian American Company and its high-handed methods. He condemned its monopolistic charter which made it trader and administrator at the same time and gave it control over the resources of the territory and power over the lives of its inhabitants. He ended by recommending that a commission be ordered to Alaska to report on the doings of the company.

In his reply, Gorchakov agreed to the proposal for a commission, but put obstacles in the way of an immediate sale. In the first place, he said, it was not fair to the company, and in the second place, if there were to be a sale the initiative in the matter should come from the United States and not from Russia. He assured the grand-duke that Stoeckl would be instructed to bring about an offer from Washington and that a commission would be sent to Alaska two years before the expiration of the company's lease (1861) to gather data, after which the government would be in a position to act.

About this time indirect pressure to sell Alaska came from an unexpected quarter. In a letter to Gorchakov, dated Washington, November 20/December 2, 1857, Stoeckl related a conversation he had had recently with Buchanan about Brigham Young, the Mormons, and the report then current that they planned to settle either in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company or in that of the Russian American Company. Stoeckl asked the President whether the Mormons were going as conquerors or as colonists. To this the President laughingly replied that it mattered little to him which, provided he got rid of them. On the top of this came a letter from the company's agent in San Francisco asking for information on the subject of the Mormon migration to Alaska. Stoeckl was somewhat worried by these rumors and did not know just how much importance to attach to them. He did not fail, however, to call the attention of his government to them and to remark that if the Mormons should come, Russia would be obliged either to fight them or to give up territory to them. Stoeckl's letter made quite an impression on

the emperor and on the margin of it he made this note, "Cela vient à l'appui de l'idée de régler dès à présent la question de nos possessions Américaines."

At some time during 1858-1859 Stoeckl went to Petrograd on his vacation and while there discussed Alaskan affairs with Gorchakov. It was agreed between them that if America should make another move to purchase the territory it should be considered seriously. Towards the end of 1859 the move came. On January 4, 1860 (N. S.) Stoeckl reported that Gwin had approached him recently on the matter of the sale of Alaska and had assured him that the President was ready to buy. A few days later Gwin brought up the subject again and told Stoeckl it was Buchanan's wish that the Russian government should be sounded on the question and that, for the present, discussion on the subject should be with the assistant secretary of state, Appleton, and not with Cass, the secretary, who was purposely left in the dark. In the course of the conversation Gwin incidentally mentioned that the United States would be willing to pay as high as five million dollars. To Stoeckl this seemed a large sum, more than the colonies were then worth or would ever be worth from the point of view of revenue, and probably as much as the United States would ever be willing to give. Without directly recommending the sale Stoeckl nevertheless managed to slip in indirectly a few telling arguments in its favor. He pointed out that the situation on the Pacific had completely changed in the course of the century. The fur-trade which at one time held a commanding position was becoming a thing of the past, and in its place agriculture, commerce, and industry were rapidly developing. But the Russian American possessions, because of their geographic position, could not hope to grow along these lines and would therefore drop behind the other parts of the coast. If the company should in the future, as in the past, dominate the colonies, the situation would undoubtedly grow worse; and if the government should take them over no one could be certain that it would improve. Then again, the colonies were of no importance to Russia and could not be protected; any naval power at war with Russia could get them by going after them. Finally, and this was the shot intended to reach home, by the handing of Alaska to the United States England would be greatly discomfited. The conquest of California by the Yankees was the first effective blow to Great Britain's ambitions in the Pacific, and the acquisition of Alaska would put an end to them altogether. Sandwiched in between Oregon and Alaska, British Columbia could have no great future.

Among the documents in the Russian ministry of foreign affairs there is a paper on the Russian colonies, dated February 7, 1860, written by some one who had been in California and Alaska. There is reason to believe that the author was Rear-admiral Popov, who had cruised in the North Pacific about that time. He frequently wrote to the Grand-duke Constantine, who took a leading part in guiding Russia's naval affairs and who probably transmitted copies to Gorchakov. The report paints in black colors the great misery the Russian American Company had brought on the natives of Alaska, the harm it had done to that territory, and the injury it had caused to Russian commerce. All the company thinks about, says the report, is dividends, and the only people who profit by its existence are the shareholders. It has a monopoly of the trade in the North Pacific and this is deeply resented by the Americans who live there; and were it not for Stoeckl, Senator Gwin would have brought the matter to the attention of Congress before now. Not only is the company not advancing the interest of Russia, but it is actually alienating the good-will of a friendly people. It is easy enough, the writer goes on to say, for Europeans to sneer at the Monroe Doctrine and "Manifest Destiny", but if they were better acquainted with the Americans they would know that these ideas are in their very blood and in the air they breathe. There are twenty millions of Americans, every one of them a free man and filled with the idea that America is for Americans. They have taken California, Oregon, and sooner or later they will get Alaska. It is inevitable. It cannot be prevented; and it would be better to yield with good grace and cede the territory to them. Let them have the Alaskan mainland, the Aleutians, the islands in the Bering Sea—geographically all these are American—but let us retain the Commander Islands so as not to have the Yankees too near us. Russia, too, has a manifest destiny on the Amur, and farther south, even in Korea. Expansion in that direction will not weaken us in a military way.

Notwithstanding this eloquent statement of the case made by Stoeckl and Popov, Gorchakov remained cold. In his communication of May 14, 1860 (O. S.), he said that personally he could not see that from the political point of view it would be to Russia's interest to cede the American possessions. The only argument that could persuade him to sell would be financial, but the five million dollars offered was entirely inadequate and much below the real value of the colonies. He instructed Stoeckl to keep the negotiation pending and tell Appleton and Gwin that they would have to come up on the price. In the meantime the minister of finance would send a com-

mission to Alaska to study conditions on the spot and make a report, and on this report the future Alaskan policy would be based.

Knowing that Appleton would soon leave office, Stoeckl said little to him on the subject other than that Russia would not discuss the question of sale until after the expiration of the lease of the Russian American Company. But with Gwin the conversation was prolonged and the subject of finance was taken up. The California senator assured the Russian minister that the Pacific Coast representatives would be willing to offer a higher figure, but he doubted whether the other members of Congress would be of their mind. They would have to be reached by special arguments, such as the detriment to England's prestige and interest by the purchase, and the amount of money in the Treasury. In any case, concluded Gwin, negotiations were out of the question for the time being and could not be resumed before the end of 1861 or the beginning of 1862, when the new administration and Congress would be in; for the present Congress would not pass any measure, no matter how praiseworthy, that was recommended by the Buchanan Cabinet.

During the years immediately succeeding the above conversation both Russia and the United States had all they could do to retain the territory they already held without busying themselves with selling or buying additional possessions. The Russian commission which was sent to Alaska returned in 1861 with a report which was not favorable to the company, but the opportunity for selling was gone. Numerous conferences were held by the ministers on the subject of the disposition of the colonies and finally, not knowing what else to do, they allowed the company, under certain minor restrictions, to exploit Alaska for a time longer.

But it was an uphill and losing fight. As Stoeckl had pointed out in one of his reports, the fur-trade was declining and no new industries were successfully developing to take its place. The company had tried coal-mining and had failed; it had engaged in the ice and lumber business and had failed equally. Its credit gradually declined, and its shares of stock, which Wrangell valued in 1854 at about five hundred rubles, could not find buyers in 1866 at seventy-five. The company was drifting towards bankruptcy and appealed to the minister of finance to save it. Something had to be done and that quickly. The government did not wish to take over the colonies nor to hand them over to another gang of exploiters. In this predicament the minister of finance, Reutern, turned to Stoeckl (who happened to be in Petrograd during the late autumn of 1866) and asked him if the United States would now buy the colonies. The

Grand-duke Constantine sounded Stoeckl on the same subject. Stoeckl told them of the former offer and of the mistake made by Russia in refusing it, but held out some hope that it might be renewed. This time the grand-duke did not write to Gorchakov but, with Reutern, went straight to the emperor and laid the matter before him. Alexander called in the minister of foreign affairs and told him to look into the matter of selling Alaska.

Gorchakov proceeded in a methodical way. Early in December he asked the Grand-duke Constantine, Reutern, and Stoeckl, to submit their opinions in writing as to the best solution of the problem. The grand-duke merely repeated what he had said so often before, that the colonies should be handed over to the United States, and that Russia should devote her energies to the development of the Amur. Reutern discussed the situation from the point of view of the treasury. He said that the company was either unfortunate or inefficient, but, whatever the reason, there was no question but that it had come to the end of its resources. For the government to take over the colonies meant more sacrifices and burdens, which it could not afford. He therefore agreed with the grand-duke to sell Alaska. Stoeckl said again what he had said at other times, that Russian America was a breeder of trouble between America and Russia and that the sooner it was disposed of the better.

These memoranda were submitted by the chancellor to Alexander II. on December 12 with the gentle suggestion that His Majesty call together a committee of ministers composed of the Grand-duke Constantine, the minister of finance, and himself, minister of foreign affairs, to discuss (under the emperor's presidency) the Alaska question. It was also intimated that Stoeckl might be invited to be on hand to give information in case it was wanted. Three days later, December 15, Gorchakov wrote again to the emperor, at the request of the grand-duke, that it would be well to have present at the conference Vice-admiral Krabbe, minister of the marine.

At the meeting which took place on December 16 at the palace all the above-named persons were present. Reutern went into details about the poor financial condition of the company. Discussion followed in which all took part, and in the end they agreed to sell the colonies to the United States. When this was decided upon, the emperor turned to Stoeckl and asked him if he would not like to return to Washington and conclude the deal. It was not what Stoeckl wanted, for he was then slated for the Hague, but of course he had little choice in the matter and said that he would go.

The grand-duke gave him a map on which the frontiers were

traced, and the minister of finance told him not to take less than five million dollars. These were practically all the instructions Stoeckl had, or as he put it, "Au fond on m'a expédié en me disant voyez si la chose peut se faire et comment elle peut se faire?"

Stoeckl landed in New York some time about February 1, 1867, and remained in that city about six weeks, partly because of illness. He was of the opinion that nothing would be gained by pushing negotiations before the new Congress convened. He used the interval in maturing his plans and paving the way for the American government to make the first move. With this idea in mind, he put himself in touch with one of Seward's political friends and had him see the secretary and impress upon him the value of Alaska. When the minister reached Washington early in March, he called on the secretary, as was customary. The two engaged in conversation in the course of which Stoeckl remarked that his government regretted its inability to grant the concessions asked for by Mr. Clay, the American minister in Petrograd, in behalf of certain Californians.³ Seward then told him that he too had a favor to ask in behalf of the citizens of Washington Territory who desired permission to fish in Alaskan waters.⁴ To this Stoeckl replied that his government could not possibly grant it. After these preliminaries had been gone through, Seward came to the point and inquired whether Russia would sell Alaska to the United States. Stoeckl had gained his object; America had taken the first step in the transaction. After this the conversation proceeded more easily, and the two men agreed that a transfer of the territory would be of mutual advantage. It was decided that before going more deeply into the subject Seward should see Johnson. When they met again a day or two later, the secretary was somewhat non-committal and reported that the President was not enthusiastic but was willing to leave the affair to the judgment of the Cabinet. Seward consulted his colleagues and they authorized him to negotiate.

At the following meeting the two men got down to the discussion of ways and means. Stoeckl was desirous of enlisting the support of his friends in the two houses of Congress and having the initiative in the purchase come from the Capitol, but Seward would not hear of it. He gave his reasons, that it was an administrative measure which required secrecy, and that it was "à lui de régler cette affaire". Stoeckl expressed some doubt whether the Senate

³ *House Ex. Doc. 177*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4. Memorial of the legislature of Washington Territory to the President, received February, 1866.

would ratify the treaty when made, but Seward assured him that there would be no difficulty on that score.

The next question was the price. Seward's first offer was \$5,000,000, but when he saw the cold look in Stoeckl's face he raised it another \$500,000 and added that this was the best he could do. Stoeckl shook his head and demanded \$7,000,000. In his communication of March 6/18 Stoeckl told Gorchakov of the progress that had been made up to that date and said that he hoped to get \$6,000,000 and possibly \$6,500,000, and that he expected to report definitely within a fortnight.

They met again probably two or three times in the course of the week that followed. Seward showed such an eagerness to buy that Stoeckl took advantage of it and would not lower the price. The secretary added one half-million after another, insisting each time that he had gone to the limit, that he had exceeded the instructions of the President and the Cabinet, but the minister stood by his \$7,000,000, and "*grâce à l'intervention de quelques personnes influentes, j'ai réussi à les obtenir*".

When the question of price had been settled, there were still two other obstacles of lesser importance to be removed. Stoeckl had been advised by cable to demand that the money should be paid in London and that the United States should take over certain obligations of the Russian American Company. Seward would not accept these conditions. In the end a compromise was reached. Seward added \$200,000 to make up for the loss in exchange, and Stoeckl gave up the stipulation about taking over the obligations and agreed to cede the territory "free and unencumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants," etc.

Seward was in a great hurry to push through the deal before Congress adjourned, and he therefore asked Stoeckl to cable the outline of the treaty to Petrograd at the expense of the United States.⁵ This was done on March 13/25. Four days later a reply came, "*L'Empereur autorise vente pour sept millions de dollars, ainsi que signature du traité*". During the night of March 29-30 the treaty was put in final form and signed by the Secretary of State and the Russian minister.

So secretly and so rapidly were the negotiations carried through that few were aware of what was going on. It was only after the signing of the treaty that the Secretary of State gave out the news to the papers friendly to him, and through them the public learned

⁵ It cost the United States 45,000 francs.

of the purchase. Opposition manifested itself at once. Senators came to the Russian minister and informed him that they would not vote for the treaty, not because they had anything against it but simply because it bore Seward's name. Sumner asked Stoeckl that he withdraw the treaty, for it had not the least chance of being confirmed. To all these men Stoeckl replied that it would be dishonorable on the part of his government to withdraw. It was the United States that took the initiative and made the offer, and it was for the United States to see the affair through. The numerous friends of Russia, in and out of Congress, became active among the senators and pointed out to them the disgrace to the United States and the insult to Russia in failing to ratify the treaty after having drawn Russia into it. This idea gradually took hold and one by one the senators became more friendly, and on the final vote on April 9 thirty-seven voted in favor of ratification of the treaty and two against it. As to payments, both Seward and Thaddeus Stevens assured Stoeckl that the money would be voted just as soon as Congress assembled.⁶

Stoeckl, Gorchakov, and Alexander II. were greatly pleased at the outcome of the negotiations. On one of the minister's accounts of the sale the emperor wrote: "Pour tout cela il mérite un 'spasibo' [thanks] de ma part", and instructed the chancellor, "Remerciez-le particulièrement de ma part", and to reward him with 25,000 rubles,⁷ and Bodisco, the secretary of the legation, with 5,000. Gorchakov himself heartily congratulated Stoeckl and expressed his belief that the transfer of title to the territory was of mutual benefit to the two nations, and ended his laudatory epistle by saying, "Je prends ma part de responsabilité dans la cession de nos colonies Américaines".

Stoeckl was not only pleased but greatly relieved, for the task had not been an easy one. Now that it was over he planned to bid "un éternel adieu à l'Amérique le printemps . . . prochain". Had he known of the troubles ahead of him he would not have been so light-hearted. It was understood that when Congress convened in December it would appropriate immediately the necessary funds to meet the obligation of the sale. In January, 1868, it became evident that there was a movement on foot to block the Russian payment,

⁶ "Que le jour même où le congrès sera réuni il [Stevens] fera passer l'allocation et mettra l'argent à notre disposition."

⁷ Stoeckl was disappointed with the smallness of the reward, considering that he had secured \$2,000,000 more than was expected.

by a group of men who supported the so-called Perkins claims against Russia.⁸

An American named Benjamin Perkins had asserted that in 1855 he made a contract with Stoeckl and a year or two later with one Rakielevicz, who passed himself off as an agent of the Russian legation, to deliver a certain amount of powder and ammunition to Russia. Stoeckl denied that he had ever made the contract and disowned Rakielevicz, who was a discredited Russian spy. The case was carried to the supreme court of New York, where it was dismissed. Perkins accepted two hundred dollars and promised that he would drop the matter. He did not. He took it to Cass and to Seward, but neither of them supported him. During the twelve years that had intervened (1855-1867) Perkins and Rakielevicz had died, and Stoeckl had forgotten about the affair. But when the heirs of Perkins learned of the purchase of Alaska they renewed the agitation. They enlisted in their behalf members of the House of Representatives,⁹ senators,¹⁰ lawyers, newspaper editors, lobbyists, and others, and set to work to force the Russian government to pay. Their first manoeuvre was to bring the case before the judiciary committee of the Senate and get favorable action, and then to demand that the sum due them be withheld from the \$7,200,000. But after reflection, and perhaps investigation, they came to the conclusion that they could not count on the committee. Their next move was to propose that the question be arbitrated, on the condition that the amount involved be held back by the American government. The Senate leaders would not agree to this. Stoeckl refused to consider it because no particular proposal of arbitration was suggested and because he felt that he could not arbitrate with men of that type.

Having failed in the Senate, the managers of the case turned to the House of Representatives. Their plan was to block action on the bill in the hope that Russia would buy them off. According to Stoeckl the backers of the claim were well organized and had some kind of agreement that three-fourths of the \$800,000 should go to the backers and the other fourth to the Perkins heirs.

Thaddeus Stevens, who in the spring of 1867 pledged the honor of his country to the payment, was one of the first to champion the

⁸ The writer has not investigated the merits of the claims. His only sources of information on the subject are the diplomatic papers.

⁹ Among whom was "Butler [qui] est intéressé pour 30,000 dollars dans l'escroquerie Perkins".

¹⁰ "Des Sénateurs, des avocats, etc., sont intéressés dans cette escroquerie."

cause of Perkins, but after Seward and Stoeckl had a talk with him he changed sides.¹¹ Notwithstanding his attitude, the Perkins crowd was putting up a desperate fight and was able to block action. The impeachment trial of Johnson and the Republican convention also helped to delay matters. For a time it seemed as if the claimants would succeed in tacking on an amendment to keep back the \$800,000 from the Alaska purchase money. It was certain that such a proviso would not be acceptable to the Senate and consequently the bill would have to be referred to a conference committee. In that case R. J. Walker, Stoeckl's lobbyist, thought that it would be necessary "to manipulate some members of that committee".

Stoeckl was greatly worried. Not only were his reputation and the dignity of his country involved, but the friendly relations between the two nations, which he had done so much to build up, were at stake. By the end of March, 1868, he thought that the case was almost hopeless, and he asked for additional instructions. As far as he could see there were only two dignified courses to pursue: (1) to tell the United States that Russia had done her part and that if the United States were unwilling to pay for Alaska they could have it without paying; (2) to send a strong but a courteous note which would touch the American pride. The reply written by the minister of foreign affairs and approved by the emperor favored doing the second, but not the first for fear that the offer would be taken up.¹² Russia insisted on keeping the two issues separate. She requested that payment for Alaska should be made first, and after that the two governments could take up the Perkins claim.

When week after week passed without any noticeable progress Stoeckl became almost desperate. Johnson wished to send a special message to Congress, but Stoeckl, working through Seward, dissuaded him from doing so for fear it might result in more harm than good. For the same reason he asked Seward to remain in the background, for, even as it was, many congressmen were lined up against the bill out of enmity towards him. "Toutefois", wrote the Russian minister, "Mr. Seward n'est pas resté inactif et nous avons agi ensemble sur les membres du Congrès par l'entremise d'hommes influents¹³ et d'avocats, et à force d'efforts inouïs, nous sommes

¹¹ "Je compte sur l'influence de Stevens qui le premier a soulevé cette affaire, mais qui maintenant travaille assidûment en notre faveur."

¹² "Mais vous n'ajouterez pas un mot sur une cession sans compensation. Je trouve imprudent d'exposer la cupidité Américaine à cette tentation."

¹³ "J'ai en mon emploi quelques personnes sûres, entre autres le Sénateur [R. J.] Walker, homme très influent et en qui je puis placer pleine confiance. . . . Seward travaille de son côté et de concert avec Walker assidûment et emploie

parvenus à obtenir un résultat satisfaisant contre mon attente." On July 14, 1868, the bill carrying the appropriation was passed.

It is clear that congressmen were bought,¹⁴ but there is no direct and conclusive evidence in the Russian archives to warrant the accusation of any congressman by name.¹⁵ The men who sold themselves were undoubtedly those who were interested in the Perkins claims. We must, however, be careful to differentiate between them and others who voted against the bill from pure motives. Stoeckl himself realized that the purchase of Alaska was not popular and that it was regarded by many as a worthless and an expensive investment.¹⁶

The mental strain, the corruption and the dirty work which had to be done in order to get the bill through made Stoeckl sick at heart. As soon as it was all over he pleaded with his foreign office to take him from Washington, to send him anywhere it pleased, he did not particularly care where, provided it took him from the American capital.¹⁷ But though discouraged and disgusted with the lawmakers at the Capitol, he yet kept to the very last his high opinion of the American people and predicted that the time was not far off when even congressmen would be honest.

From the above study it is evident that Russia sold Alaska not out of enmity to England, not out of friendship for the United States, but out of a desire to get rid of a territory which had become valueless and burdensome. No one will question, even to-day, that from the point of view of Russia that was a wise thing to do.

Why the United States bought Alaska is not quite so clear. It was not done with the object of catering to the Pacific Coast states

toute sorte de moyens auprès membres pour les ranger de notre côté quand vote aura lieu. Tous deux agissent avec la plus grande circonspection et de manière à ne pas me compromettre en rien."

¹⁴ This Perkins affair "a déjà entraîné des frais qui absorberont une grande partie des deux cents mille dollars qui m'ont été donnés la veille de la signature pour couvrir les dépenses secrets".

¹⁵ See Professor Dunning's article "Paying for Alaska", in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1912.

¹⁶ Even the Pacific Coast states, said Stoeckl, "ne se sont montrés que modérément enthousiastes et je puis assurer à Votre Excellence que si ce traité était à refaire aujourd'hui, nous n'aurions pas obtenu une million, si même nous aurions réussi à le conclure".

¹⁷ "Je ne peux pas vous donner une idée des tribulations et des désagréments que j'ai dû supporter avant de finir cette affaire. J'ai besoin urgent d'un repos de quelques mois. Ne me dites pas de rester ici parce qu'il n'y a pas de place ailleurs à me donner, mais laissez-moi la faculté de respirer pendant quelque temps une atmosphère plus pure que celle de Washington et puis faites de moi ce que vous voudrez."

or of pleasing Russia. Questions of friendship between America and Russia had nothing whatever to do with the selling or with the buying of Alaska, at least not with the state departments. In reality no one but Seward was deeply interested in the purchase of that territory; and the question is, why was he eager to buy. Some say that it was because he was a far-sighted statesman and foresaw the political and economic importance of Alaska. Stoeckl did not think so. He was of the opinion that Seward was interested in the purchase because he hoped that it would bring him once more into popular favor, and in order to show the importance of his act he helped to spread the reports that Alaska was sold and bought to embarrass England, to counterbalance the Canadian Confederation, and for other such reasons.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

THE MINERS' LAWS OF COLORADO

To the student of governmental institutions in the United States, government based upon social compact is a familiar conception. As a basis of state-making in the West the idea has received the attention of many historians and needs no elaboration here. But less attention has been given to the social compact as a basis of local government. The object of this paper is to present the salient features of the beginnings of organized governmental units in what is now the state of Colorado.

It has long been known that when the principal mining areas of the Far West were first developed, the miners, finding themselves beyond the long arm of the law, found it necessary to lay off mining districts, to organize governments, and enact laws.¹ Historians who have dealt with the subject have not examined the sources critically, and have usually been content with stating the content of the law of some one district, citing this as typical of all the districts. Furthermore, a systematic search for the records of the mining districts, with the exceptions of California, Nevada, and Colorado, has not been made. It has been the belief of most investigators that the records of the mining districts of Colorado could never be recovered, a view which is probably traceable to Hollister who in 1867 said, "It is impossible to get complete copies of these laws now, some of them having been lost, together with the boundaries of the districts".² The Colorado State Historical and Natural History Society has obtained the printed laws of five districts and the minutes of a single district, and with these, investigators appear to have been content.

In the summer of 1918 I undertook the work of bringing to light the original sources. The clue to their location was found in a territorial law of November 7, 1861, which reads,

A copy of all the records, laws and proceedings of each mining district, so far as they relate to lode claims, shall be filed in the office of the County Clerk of the county in which the district is situated, within the boundaries of the district attached to the same, which shall be taken as evidence in any court having jurisdiction in the matters concerned in such record or proceeding.

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, XXIII. 397-400; XXV. 127, 407; XXXV. 240-247; Thompson and West, publishers, *History of Nevada*, p. 62; Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, p. 642; O. J. Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, pp. 75-82.

² Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, p. 82.

The law also stated that all rights of occupancy, possession, or enjoyment of any tract or portion of the said public domain acquired before November 7, 1861, should be ascertained, adjudged, and determined by the local law of the district or precinct in which such tract was situated.³ The substance of these provisions was also incorporated in a revised statute of 1867.⁴

An examination of the contents of the vault of the county clerk of Boulder County resulted in the discovery of thirty-one volumes of mining district records. They disclosed the fact that during 1859-1861 eight districts were organized. Twelve volumes contained records of claims, four were indexes of claims and transfers, nine were laws and minutes, and the rest were miscellaneous records.

At Central City, the county seat of Gilpin County, 124 volumes of mining records from twenty-seven districts were found. Seventy-nine volumes contained records of mortgages, deeds, conveyances, attachments, pre-emptions, sales, and claim locations. Twenty-one volumes contained indexes, three were docket books, and twenty-two volumes contained laws and minutes. On the wall of the office of the county clerk hung a map of the county made in 1866, showing the mining districts as they then existed.⁵

A third survey was made at Georgetown, the county-seat of Clear Creek County. Here the records of twenty-seven districts were found. The volumes totaled 164. Ninety-five contained records of claims, mill sites, lodes, and deeds. Twenty-five were indexes, two were docket books, and forty-two contained laws and minutes. A map of the survey of 1866 was also located.⁶

Of the district records the most valuable are the laws and minutes. Out of sixty or more districts in the three counties, the laws and minutes were intact for about forty districts. It was evident

³ R. S. Morrison, *Mining Rights in Colorado* (third ed.), pp. 3, 4; Colorado Territory, *General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials, and Private Acts, passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly*, pp. 167-168, sec. 12; *ibid.*, pp. 168-169, sec. 4. The validity of the laws of the mining districts was recognized by a United States law of May 10, 1872. See *Statutes at Large*, XVII. 91.

⁴ Colorado Territory, Legislative Assembly, 7 sess., *Revised Statutes*, p. 466, sec. 11.

⁵ This map is now at the University of Colorado.

⁶ Through the kindness of Mr. Frank A. Maxwell, the county treasurer, this map was loaned to the University of Colorado. Through Mr. Hal Sayre of Denver, the University has recently become permanently possessed of one of these rare maps. Gilpin, Clear Creek, and Boulder counties were the most important centres of Colorado mining during 1859-1861, but there were other rushes into Summit and Park counties, along the Upper Arkansas, and into the San Juan country. The records of these latter regions have not been examined. If funds are available, the surveys will be made during 1920.

that the law of 1861 had been violated, that some of the records had not been deposited with the county clerks, or that careless officials had allowed the records to be taken from the archives. Fortunately some of the missing records have been found. Many of the districts printed their laws and four sets of these printed laws, the originals of which are not in the county archives, are in possession of the State Historical and Natural History Society. One manuscript of minutes is also held by the Society. Mr. Jesse S. Randall, the editor of the *Georgetown Courier*, loaned me three sets of manuscript laws. The papers of Senator Teller and of Mr. Hal Sayre were recently acquired by the University,⁷ and among these were found the printed laws of five districts and the manuscripts of laws and minutes of seven districts. The early files of the *Rocky Mountain News* have also been examined and from them several lacunae in the records have been filled.

The records of the older districts reveal the fact that the first codes to be adopted were simple, and that as conditions changed, the miners found it necessary to revise, amend, and recodify the laws. The later enactments were more complex and more technical than the earlier laws, and new offices with clearly defined functions were created. The records of Gregory Diggings, one of the earliest and largest districts in Gilpin County, show how the laws of a district evolved.

At a meeting of the miners held on the North Fork of Clear Creek on June 8, 1859, Wilk Defrees was elected president and Joseph Casto secretary. The miners then adopted nine resolutions. The first defined the boundaries of the district and the other resolutions constituted a simple mining code. The second resolution provided that no miner should hold more than one claim, except by purchase or discovery, and in case of purchase, that the same should be attested by at least two disinterested witnesses, and should be recorded by the secretary, who should receive one dollar for the work of recording each claim or purchase. The third resolution provided that title to a claim would not be valid unless the claim were staked off with the owner's name and with a description of the property. When the claim was held by a company, the name of each member was to appear conspicuously. The fourth resolution stated that each miner should be entitled to hold one mountain claim, one gulch claim, and one creek claim for the washing of gold. Mountain claims were to be one hundred feet long and fifty feet

⁷ These papers were obtained largely through the efforts of Professor James F. Willard.

wide, and gulch claims one hundred feet "up and down the river or gulch, and extending fifty feet". According to the fifth resolution, mountain claims, unless worked within ten days from the date of staking, would be forfeited. The sixth resolution provided that when a company was working one of its claims, other claims could be held without being worked if a notice were put up. The seventh provided that a discovery claim must be marked as such, and was to be held whether worked or not. The eighth was to the effect that priority of claim had to be respected. The ninth provided that when two parties wished to use water on the same stream or ravine for quartz mining, the water was to be equally divided.⁸

Within a month the miners discovered that their laws were insufficient to protect their rights. A codification committee was therefore appointed. On July 9 a report was made to a miners' meeting at which a single resolution was adopted to the effect that the officers of the district were to be a president, a recorder of claims, and a sheriff, who were to be elected by ballot and were to hold office for a year. Captain Richard Sopris, after whom Mt. Sopris was named, was elected president.⁹

On July 16 a new code was adopted, the resolution of the previous meeting being incorporated as number one. The sheriff was to have power to serve notices and executions, to summon parties and jurors, to put parties in possession of property given them by court decisions, and to do "such service as a sheriff could do in any other place". The recorder was made keeper of the district records and was to make all legal records. His books were to be open to public inspection and were never to be taken from his possession. Claims then being worked were not to be recorded unless the owner saw fit to do so. If lead claims could not be worked to advantage that season because of lack of water or machinery, by filing a statement of reasons with the recorder claims could be held without working until the following June. Water claims were to be recorded within ten days from the claim date or be forfeited. All bills of sale or conveyances of claims were to be witnessed by two disinterested persons and recorded.

Previous laws relating to trials concerning disputed claims were repealed and a new law adopted. When any person was aggrieved in regard to a claim, he was to file with any commissioned justice

⁸ Gilpin County, Laws and Regulations of the Mines of the Gregory Diggings District.

⁹ Mountain City, now parts of Central City and Black Hawk, was laid out by Sopris. He began to build the first house in the town on May 22, 1859. See Bancroft Library MS., Sopris, Settlement of Denver, p. 6.

of the peace, or in his absence with the president of the miners' association, a statement of his grounds of complaint with the names of the parties of whom complaint was made, and a prayer that they be summoned to appear and answer. The justice or president was then to issue a summons to the adverse party to appear and answer within three days. If he failed to appear, the complaint was to be taken as true and execution issued. If he appeared and answered, a venire of nine persons was to be summoned, from which number each party was to strike off three, and the remaining three were to hear the evidence, with or without counsel, "and try the case". If the losing party felt aggrieved by the decision, he could appeal to a jury of twelve men selected by the justice or president, and their decision was final. The defeated party was liable for all costs of the suit and the justice or president was to issue execution for the same, which were to be collected from any property the party so liable might have, with the exemption of tools, bedding, clothing, and provisions necessary for three months.

The code provided that any person might, by recording, take up a building lot forty feet front by one hundred feet deep, but this property, if found rich in gold, might be mined by another party who must, however, protect the house against damage. Any person or company intending to erect a quartz-mill might select a location 250 feet square. He might also claim the right to cut a race from any river and could hold the water provided that he did not interfere with vested rights.

Gulch claims were to be one hundred feet up and down and fifty feet wide following the meanderings of the stream, and were to be worked within ten days if water could be obtained. If a miner held both a gulch and a lead claim, if one were worked the other could be held by recording it. Water companies were to have the right of way and could pass over any claim, road, or ditch, but were to guard against injury to any party over whose ground they passed.

Companies formed for tunneling could stake off 250 feet "each way from the tunnel and running as the tunnel is intended to run"; after that all new leads discovered in tunneling belonged to the company to that extent, provided that claims already taken were respected. If work on a tunnel were stopped for one week at any time, the tunnel claim was forfeited.¹⁰

This code sufficed until February, 1860, on February 11 a new committee being appointed to amend the laws. The work of the committee was approved on February 18 and 20. The amended

¹⁰ Gilpin County, Gregory District, Book A.

code provided that within four days the recorder must post three notices in each of the adjoining districts inviting the citizens of those districts to send three delegates from each district to "a meeting to be held at the City Hall in Mountain City" at two o'clock P. M. on March 1 to fix permanently and accurately the boundaries of Gregory District. After the determination of the boundaries, no changes were to be made without the consent of the citizens of the district; in the future if any persons desired to change the boundaries, or to erect a new district within Gregory District, or to annex territory, twelve notices were to be posted in conspicuous places giving ten days' notice of a public meeting to consider the matter.

The code defined the terms lode, gulch, patch or placer, tunnel, ditch, water, building, and ranch claims. No person was to hold more than one lode, gulch, or patch claim except by discovery or purchase, nor more than one water, building, or ranch claim except by purchase. Any person owning a quartz-mill claim upon which he had a mill or was preparing to erect one, might claim the right to cut a race or ditch from any stream to bring water to his mill, provided that he did not interfere with vested rights, all claims held under previous laws being regarded as vested property. When water was claimed for gulch and quartz-mining purposes on the same stream, and the water was insufficient for all, priority of claim was to determine who should have the water. All questions arising out of the riparian rights of proprietors which were not covered by the provisions of the code were to be settled in accordance with common law. Rules and regulations observed in mining regions within the United States regarding the digging for gold under building lots or upon ranch or other claims were to be observed in the district. Upon the location of a tunnel for discovery purposes, the owner was to file with the recorder a specification which should state the place of commencement and the terminus of the tunnel, with the names of the owners. A "four squair" stake was to be placed at the tunnel mouth, "having written thereon the same things hereby made necessary to record". Persons working a tunnel were given priority of right to all leads discovered in the line of the tunnel and were given the right of way through all leads which might be along the course of the tunnel.

Another act related to the officers of Gregory District. This act provided that the officers were to be a president, a judge of the miners' court, and a recorder who was to be *ex officio* secretary and treasurer of the district. These officials were to hold office for one

year unless removed by the citizens for misconduct. The sheriff of Arapahoe County was appointed *ex officio* sheriff of the district. The franchise was also fixed by the law, every person who owned a recorded claim being allowed to vote.

An act was also approved to establish a miners' court and regulate its jurisdiction. The act provided that a regular term of court was to be held at some convenient and proper place in the district on Monday of each week. The officers of the court were to be a judge, a clerk, the sheriff of Arapahoe County and his deputies, and the "attorneys of said court regularly admitted as such". The duties of the judge were specified and under certain conditions the president of the district might preside in place of the judge. The miners' court was to have equity as well as law jurisdiction and could grant injunctions. The court could fine for contempt in a sum not exceeding fifty dollars. It could appoint its own clerk who was to have such powers as a clerk of record had in Kansas.

The jury for each term of court was to be drawn upon the Thursday next preceding each term. The sheriff or his deputy placed the names of one hundred "good and suitable" men in a box, and the judge or clerk then drew the names of eighteen who were to be summoned for the next term of court.

The citizens also passed an act regulating practice in the miners' court. Section 1 provided that if any person wished to commence a suit or action in the miners' court, he should file with the judge or clerk a written statement setting forth his grounds of complaint. Such statement, if in equity, was to be in the nature of a petition, and if in law of a complaint. Upon the filing of a petition or complaint, the court or the clerk was to issue a writ of summons to be served upon the defendant or defendants to appear and answer. Other sections dealt with answers, demurrers, pleadings, depositions, foreclosures, and garnishee process. Pleadings in equity and rules of evidence, with certain stated exceptions, were to follow the practice in United States courts.

In cases of judgment for partition of claims between joint owners, three disinterested commissioners were to be appointed by the court to effect the partition. In cases of attachment and replevin, the practice recognized by the laws of Kansas was to be observed. In all cases where the liability of persons in actions founded upon contract, tort, or mixed actions was not defined by the laws of the district, the common law was to apply.

Still another act related to trials. The law provided for the filing of bonds to cover costs in civil suits. When a jury was de-

manded, the court or clerk was to call nine persons from the jurors summoned, and each party was to strike off three names. Jurors were to hear evidence in cases in equity as well as in law. Appeals from the decision of the jury must be perfected within three days and the trial take place at the next regular term of court, unless the parties agreed to an earlier date. All trials on appeal were to be decided by a jury of twelve, and their verdict was to be final.

A previous act had provided that there be exempted from levy and sale upon execution tools, bedding, clothing, and provisions necessary for three months. A new enactment included among the exemptions cooking utensils, and in case of a man residing in the district with his family, a lot and dwelling-house not exceeding five hundred dollars in value, necessary furniture, a Bible, family pictures, and relics.

Another act dealt with crimes and nuisances. All crimes committed in the district were to be punished as a jury of twelve might direct. Persons who caused any nuisance which might affect the health of the inhabitants were liable to be sued by the district. Damages were not to exceed one hundred dollars and costs. Any person placing an obstruction on a highway, or digging a pit and leaving it open so as to endanger life or limb along a road or trail was liable for damages.

An act containing general provisions for the government of the district was also passed at this time. The judge was to pay weekly to the district treasurer any money which he had received in his court, and the treasurer was not to pay out any of it except upon a "fairly complete" vote of the citizens. All previous laws, except where pending suits might be affected, were repealed by the acts of February 18 and 20.¹¹

These laws were enacted in the winter time, when there was little activity in the mines. But with spring came new groups of miners and changed conditions which required the amending of the laws. On May 25, 1860, at a meeting of the citizens held at Mountain City several resolutions were adopted. These resolutions were primarily intended to make it possible to hold claims until machinery might arrive or until sufficient water could be obtained.

Up to this time no adequate law had been made for the administration of estates of the deceased. This gap in the laws was now filled by a resolution to the effect that in case of the death of any person owning property in the district, the president was to appoint an administrator who would close up the estate according to the

¹¹ Gilpin County, Gregory District, Record A 2d.

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laws of Kansas. The president, in all such cases, was to perform the duties of a probate judge.¹²

The laws of Gregory District remained without change until February 16, 1861, when the code was again amended. It was then provided that each discovery claim was to be plainly marked and staked, with the name of the discoverer on the stake, and that a shaft should be sunk to the crevice. Discovery claims were to be described plainly on the records, and if the stake or landmark were removed, a penalty of ten dollars was to be imposed upon the guilty party. All claims henceforth were to be held as real estate.

The criminal law had been very general. The lawmakers now made provision for the punishment of minor crimes. Any person found guilty of a crime no greater than petit larceny was to be fined and to pay costs of the suit. If he failed to pay these, he was to be put to work upon the public streets or roads.¹³

In May, 1861, the citizens decided to repeal that part of the act of February 20, 1860, which had given power to the sheriff of Arapahoe County. They now created the office of sheriff of Gregory District. They also passed an act regarding change of venue, and made it possible to summon jurors from outside the district if an accused party believed that the citizens were so prejudiced against him that he could not have a fair trial by the people of the district.¹⁴

The final act in the series provided for the combining of Enterprise and Gregory districts. Five citizens of Gregory District were appointed as commissioners to meet representatives of Enterprise District. The joint commission was to revise and harmonize the laws of the two districts and to report a complete set of laws at a meeting to be held at Gregory Point on June 1 "at early candle light". The report of the commissioners and the harmonized laws have not been found, and we are left in ignorance as to whether or not the districts were united.¹⁵

The impression has been created by Hollister that when new districts were formed they copied their laws and customs from Gregory District with certain modifications.¹⁶ An examination of the records shows that Hollister gave undue credit to the Gregory District lawmakers. At least seven districts were formed in 1859. While there are certain similarities in the laws, they vary so greatly in important particulars that a generalization as to their source is questionable.

¹² Gilpin County, Gregory Dist., Record C.

¹³ *Id.*, Book B 2d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Id.*, Grantee Index.

¹⁶ Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, p. 82.

The laws of 1859 were very simple, but during 1860 the codes became more complete and something like uniformity prevailed. Laws or portions of laws formulated in one district were sometimes adopted by one or more districts, but with few exceptions districts did not have duplicate codes. The object of this part of the paper is to show some of the more important variations.

Let us first consider the subject of district offices. The laws of 1859 show marked differences in this respect. The Gregory law of June 8 provided for a president and secretary, but on July 9 a resolution created the offices of president, recorder, and secretary.¹⁷ The Bay State District law of July 19 provided for a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, a sheriff, and a judge.¹⁸ The law of the Gold Hill District, adopted July 30, created the offices of president, justice of the peace, constable, and recorder.¹⁹ The Pleasant Valley Number 10 District law of September 3 created the offices of president, recorder, and stakemaster.²⁰ It is evident that, in this particular at least, the districts in 1859 were working along independent lines.

In 1860 the Downieville, Coral, Montana, and Trail Creek districts adopted the Gregory organization of July 9, 1859, with the three offices of president, recorder, and sheriff,²¹ but other districts showed wide divergencies. Lower Union District had a president, three vice-presidents, and a recorder.²² Jackson District had a recorder, justice of the peace, and sheriff.²³ Upper Fall River laws provided for the offices of president, recorder, sheriff, judge, and treasurer.²⁴ In the Hawk Eye District the only elected officer was a recorder.²⁵ In the Climax District the offices were president, recorder, constable, and stakemaster.²⁶ In the Wisconsin District the law of February 13, 1860, provided for a president, secretary, and stakemaster. In May the office of constable was added.²⁷ After the Climax District united with Wisconsin District, the revised law pro-

¹⁷ Gilpin County, Laws and Regulations of the Mines of the Gregory Diggings District.

¹⁸ *Id.*, Bay State Dist., Book A.

¹⁹ Boulder County, Gold Hill Dist., Laws of 1859.

²⁰ Gilpin County, Pleasant Valley Number 10 Dist., Laws and Minutes.

²¹ Clear Creek County, Downieville Dist., Book A; Coral Dist., Laws enacted September 17, 1860; Randall Papers, Montana Dist., Laws; Trail Creek Dist., Law Book.

²² Clear Creek County, Lower Union Dist., Book A.

²³ *Id.*, Jackson Dist., Laws of June 16, 1860.

²⁴ *Id.*, Upper Fall River Dist., Book D.

²⁵ Gilpin County, Hawk Eye Dist., Book A.

²⁶ *Id.*, Climax Dist., Laws, in Wisconsin Dist., Book C.

²⁷ *Id.*, Wisconsin Dist., Book B.

vided for the offices of president, recorder, sheriff, and stakemaster.²⁸ The Gold Hill law of 1860 provided for a president, vice-president, recorder, justice of the peace, constable, and road commissioner.²⁹ In Sugar Loaf District the office of treasurer was created.³⁰ The Central Mining District had only two officers, a recorder and a surveyor;³¹ and in Ward District the only officers were a president and a recorder.³²

The laws of 1861 show fewer variations than in previous years, but still the tendency to act independently was as powerful as that of uniformity. In the Silver Lake District the only regularly elected officer was a recorder, all other officers being appointed by the miners when in session.³³ In Wisconsin District a special arrangement was made for the miners of Erick Gulch, the privilege of electing a justice of the peace and a sheriff, to serve in that portion of the district, being granted in a miners' meeting on July 24, 1861.³⁴ The Snowy Range District provided for a president and recorder only,³⁵ and the Ward District added the offices of sheriff, surveyor, road commissioner, and three road viewers.³⁶ Spanish Bar District had a president, recorder, constable, justice of the peace, surveyor, and collector of taxes.³⁷

Upper Union District took a unique step in lawmaking on October 21, 1861, when a miners' meeting decided to have a legislative body of seven or more men who in future would legislate for the district.³⁸ This meant that the pure democracy was to give way to a representative system. The organization of territorial government in 1861 checked the development of the institutions that had sprung into being in the mountain gulches, but had they continued to develop along normal lines, it seems probable that the step taken in the Upper Union District would have been a natural one in other districts.

Bancroft tells us that in the Gregory District disputes were to be settled by arbitration, and the impression that he leaves is that this

²⁸ Gilpin County, Wisconsin Dist., Records.

²⁹ Boulder County, Gold Hill Dist., Laws.

³⁰ *Id.*, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book.

³¹ The Central Mining District records are in Boulder County, Gold Lake Mining Dist., Book of Laws.

³² *Id.*, Ward Dist., Book A.

³³ Gilpin County, Silver Lake Dist., Lode Book.

³⁴ *Id.*, Wisconsin Dist., Records. Erick Gulch was also known as Middle Gulch or Twelve Mile Diggings.

³⁵ Boulder County, Snowy Range Dist., Laws of June 7, 1861.

³⁶ *Id.*, Ward Dist., Book A.

³⁷ Clear Creek County, Spanish Bar Dist., *Revised Laws*.

³⁸ *Id.*, Upper Union Dist., *Laws*, 1861.

was the usual method used by the miners in the settlement of difficulties.³⁹ An examination of the records discloses the fact that in this, as in other particulars, the laws of the districts show many variations. In Wisconsin District the law of February 13, 1860, provided that in cases of dispute between miners the president was to act as judge. Either party to a suit could have the privilege of a jury of three or six, and appeals could be carried to the miners. The law of July 12, 1860, declared that the miners were the highest tribunal and from their decision there was no appeal. The law of December 13, 1860, provided that if the judge were absent or for any reason disqualified, or if the parties believed that a fair trial could not be had before him, or if there was more business than could be attended to, three arbitrators could hear the case, and their decision would be final.⁴⁰ When a dispute occurred in Russell District, a meeting of the miners was called, and the chairman of the meeting appointed a jury of six who decided the dispute.⁴¹ In Pleasant Valley Number 10 District difficulties were taken up before a jury of three or six, and appeals were made "to the miners in general".⁴² In Lake District disputes between joint owners were settled by three commissioners who were chosen by the disputants.⁴³ In South Boulder District it was optional with disputing parties whether the case be tried by the president, the justice of the peace, or a jury. Appeals were made to a jury of twelve whose decision was final.⁴⁴ In the Bay State District disputes at first were settled by the miners or by arbitrators chosen by the disputants.⁴⁵

In the Snowy Range District the president was to act as judge in all claim disputes.⁴⁶ Appeals from his decision were made to the miners, whose decision was final. In Grand Island District any party to a civil suit was entitled to a jury trial. Appeals were made to the president, vice-president, and recorder, who constituted a court of appeals whose decision was final.⁴⁷ In the Ohio and Grass Valley districts all civil cases were tried by a jury of three or twelve and from the decision there was no appeal.⁴⁸ In Shirt Tail District all

³⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, XXV. 378, note 32.

⁴⁰ Gilpin County, Wisconsin Dist., Book B. Most of the disputes occurred over the boundaries of claims.

⁴¹ *Id.*, Russell Dist., *Laws*.

⁴² *Id.*, Pleasant Valley Number 10 Dist., *Laws* of September 3, 1859.

⁴³ Sayre Papers, Lake Dist., *Laws*.

⁴⁴ Gilpin County, South Boulder Dist., *Revised Laws*.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, Bay State Dist., Book A.

⁴⁶ Boulder County, Snowy Range Dist., *Laws* of June 7, 1861.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, Grand Island Dist., Book B.

⁴⁸ Clear Creek County, Ohio Dist., Book B; Grass Valley Dist., Book A.

disputes regarding claims were settled by the miners on the lode where the disputed claim was situated.⁴⁹

The miners did not intend to allow technicalities or tricks of lawyers to defeat justice, and several of the districts passed laws aimed at the legal profession. The Ward District law of April 4, 1861, stated that substantial justice should be the rule of practice in all cases and that no technicalities would be allowed to defeat the ends of justice.⁵⁰ The Sugar Loaf District law of March 4, 1861, provided that no practising lawyer or other person who had been admitted to practise law in any state or territory would be allowed to appear in a pending cause as attorney unless he himself were a party to the suit, in which case the opposing party would be allowed to employ counsel.⁵¹ The Hawk Eye and Independent districts had similar provisions.⁵² In the Banner District the law stated that no "lawyer or pettifogger" should be allowed to plead in any court in the district,⁵³ and a Trail Creek District resolution provided that no lawyer, attorney, "counselor, or pettifogger" be allowed to plead in any case before any judge or jury in the district.⁵⁴ Lower Union District went a step further and provided that if a lawyer practised in any court in the district he should be punished by not less than twenty nor more than fifty lashes, and be banished from the district.⁵⁵

The criminal laws do not show as great variation as other portions of the codes. The usual method of trying a case was by a jury of twelve, but occasional departures from this method may be found. For the crime of murder the guilty party was usually punished by hanging. Upon being found guilty of grand larceny or perjury the criminal was usually punished by whipping and by banishment from the district, the principal variations being in regard to the number of lashes to be applied. In some districts the punishment of all crimes was left to a jury. Occasionally vigilance committees were appointed by the district presidents to examine into and report on criminal violations of the law. Such committees usually held office for three months, or until displaced by the president.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Clear Creek County, Shirt Tail Dist., Book 1.

⁵⁰ Boulder County, Ward Dist., Book A.

⁵¹ *Id.*, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book.

⁵² Gilpin County, Hawk Eye Dist., Hawk Eye Law; Independent Dist., *Laws . . . revised and adopted February 5, 1861.*

⁵³ Clear Creek County, Banner Dist., Laws.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, Trail Creek Dist., Law Book.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, Lower Union Dist., Book A.

⁵⁶ Boulder County, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book; Gilpin County, Independent Dist., *Laws.*

Those who have founded their impressions of life in the mining camps on the stories of Bret Harte, or the modern Wild West tale, or the motion picture, will be somewhat surprised to find that many of the districts passed laws to keep out saloons, gambling dens, and houses of prostitution. The Sugar Loaf District law of May 4, 1861, provided that any gambling place or house of ill fame should be considered as a public nuisance and prosecuted as such.⁵⁷ The Gold Hill District had a law against the sale of liquor, and though several attempts were made to annul it, the law remained on the statute book.⁵⁸ The Climax miners passed a law forbidding saloons and gambling houses in the district.⁵⁹ The Lincoln District law provided that any person selling spirituous liquors, except for medicinal or manufacturing purposes, was to be fined not over fifty dollars for the first offense, twenty-five for a second, and be banished for a third offense.⁶⁰ In Banner District a keeper of a house of prostitution, or of a liquor or gambling establishment, was to be prosecuted for committing a nuisance, and if found guilty was to be fined not to exceed one hundred dollars, the fine to be determined by a jury of six men, and the nuisance was to be removed within twenty-four hours.⁶¹ In Jackson District the law of March 9, 1861, provided that no post house or tent where spirituous liquors were sold should be allowed to stand. A first offense was punishable by a fine of twenty dollars, a second offense by a fine of forty dollars, and a third by a fine of eighty dollars and such other punishment as a jury might decide.⁶²

It is obviously impossible in a short paper to give a complete digest of the numerous codes, or to point out their multitudinous variations, or to discuss the influence of the miners' laws upon the mining law of the state; but the writer hopes that he has given some idea of the nature of the laws of the mining districts, and that he has broken down some of the erroneous impressions created by earlier writers. Those who desire to make a more complete analysis of the codes will soon have an opportunity, for preparations are now under way to publish the texts in the *Historical Collections* of the University of Colorado.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

⁵⁷ Boulder County, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book.

⁵⁸ *Id.*, Gold Hill Dist., Laws.

⁵⁹ Gilpin County, Climax Dist., Laws, in Wisconsin Dist., Book C.

⁶⁰ Clear Creek County, Lincoln Dist., Laws.

⁶¹ *Id.*, Banner Dist., Laws.

⁶² Randall MSS., York Dist., Laws.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

WHEN the International Association of Academies held its first session, at Paris in 1900, nearly every country in Europe either had one or more general academies, embracing in their care the whole circle of the sciences, though usually divided into "philosophical-historical" and "mathematical-physical" sections, or else had separate academies for these two broad fields of investigation and study. In Great Britain, however, while all the physical sciences were amply represented by the Royal Society, there was no single body having a similar position in respect to what are commonly called the humanistic studies. Yet it was strongly desired that British interest in those studies should equally have its representation in the membership and work of the International Association of Academies, and out of this exigency arose the movement which led to the incorporation, in 1902, of the British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies. Since then, the British Academy, as it is commonly called, a body of eminent scholars, limited to one hundred in number, has endeavored to care for the general interests of such studies in Great Britain, after much the same manner as that in which the Royal Society cares for the interests of the physical sciences, though as yet with resources far less than those which two hundred and fifty-eight years of existence have brought to the Royal Society. In common language, the one represents science the other learning, and the British representation in the International Association of Academies was thereafter made up by action of both bodies.

The International Association of Academies did various useful things, of a sort which, either from their nature or their magnitude, called for co-operation of scientists and scholars of various countries. A typical illustration of its undertakings in the humanistic field would be the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by an international committee, and contributed to by Arabists of all countries, and of which the first volume was published in parts from 1908 to 1913. While the war broke up this international academic association, nothing can destroy the need or desire for international co-operation in intellectual fields, and before the war was ended measures for

union were already in operation, but the new organization has come about in a quite different way. In the case of the physical sciences, the war brought about common consultations and common action in investigation to an extent far beyond anything known before. Each of the belligerent countries had organized a national research council, or something of the sort; but the problems important to warfare which they attacked were common to all, and the resulting inventions or discoveries were needed, and needed quickly, by all the allies alike. Upon the initiative of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, the national research councils of the allies united in forming, in 1918, the International Research Council, to which presently, after the armistice, the scientific academies of the neutral countries were admitted on equal terms, for the uniting of scientific effort, which was indispensable in war-time, is as desirable as it ever was in times of peace. The result is, that now the scientific academies of the allied and neutral countries, or the scientific sections of their general academies, are united in a representative international council which holds regular meetings and makes plans for common action upon common problems of science.

Though warfare had not compelled a similar international union of the representatives of learning in humanistic studies, the thought naturally arose, after the formation of this scientific organization, that there ought also to be some like body in which the representatives of history, economics, political and social science, archaeology, philology, and philosophy, should come together for common consultation and action. Accordingly, two of the academies in Paris, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences, united in calling a conference in May, 1919, which resulted in the formation of the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale). The plan was cordially taken up, and the Union Académique Internationale ("UAI") is now a "going concern". It has already had one meeting in October, 1919, and will have another in May, 1920. The regular place of meeting will be the Palais des Académies at Brussels and the permanent secretariat will be established there. M. Émile Senart, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, president of the Asiatic Society of Paris, distinguished in Indo-Chinese and Pali learning, was chosen as the first president. M. Théophile Homolle, of the same academy, director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, served as secretary at first, but in the permanent organization it is provided that the president, the two vice-presidents, the secretary, and the two adjunct secretaries shall all be from different countries.

The humanistic academies (or humanistic sections of general academies) of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, and Japan are all represented in the "UAI", each country having two delegates and two votes. The Spanish Academy of History, the Rumanian Academy, and those of Portugal and Finland and Czechoslovakia will soon join. That of Sweden, characteristically, "will be glad to join the union when it is possible to invite all the countries to participate in it", that is to say, whenever it votes to admit the German and Austrian academies. Naturally, some time must elapse before that can be brought about, though of course it must ultimately occur. Normally, science and learning are international elements in modern civilization and have a natural inclination to ignore national boundaries and proceed to do their part in drawing the world together. According to the constitution of the Union, a majority of three-fourths of all the votes of its members, in a secret ballot, is requisite for the admission of new members.

But now arose, for American well-wishers to the Union, a dilemma like that which confronted the British scholars in 1900; and it has been solved in a similar way, by the creation of a new organization representing the whole group of the humanistic studies. Everyone would wish that the United States should have a part in any such international organization. It would not be presumptuous to suppose that its scholars could be helpful in such an amphictyony, and in any case we ought to wish that America should bear its share of the expense of whatever international undertakings, in fields of learning, it is thought worth while to pursue. Indeed, no right-minded man could wish otherwise than that America, which has emerged from the Great War so much less damaged than other countries, so much the richest of all, should be moved to bear much more than its proportionate share of the world's expenditure for purposes of learning. But just as in 1900 Great Britain lacked any body representative in a general manner of the humanistic studies, and forming a complement to the Royal Society, so in America in 1919, though American science was amply represented by the National Academy of Sciences, American learning had no such general representative body.

The mode chosen for meeting the dilemma was characteristically different. On the whole, the sentiment of American scholars would not be in favor of the attempt to create a select academy, whether of forty immortals or of a hundred mortals, whose mortal quality might be only too clear to those who were not co-opted. In all

probability such a group could not be invested with sufficient prestige or power or material resources to perform great services to American learning. As an instrument for the union of forces, or for securing representation in an international union, we should prefer something more literally representative. Better than with any national academy of learned men, we are contented with the machinery by which we deal with such matters now, namely, by having, for each of the chief humanistic studies, or divisions of learning, a national society of specialists, not limited to small numbers, but embracing all who are strongly enough interested in the particular study to join the national society.

If then the United States was to be at all represented in the International Union of Academies, and many scholars desired that it should be, the best way to achieve it, in view of our actual existing form of organization, was to draw together these specialist societies into some form of loose federation for the purpose. This has now been brought about, chiefly through the efforts and organizing skill of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary hitherto of the American Historical Association. On September 19, 1919, a conference of representatives of ten societies of the variety indicated (thirteen were invited) was held at Boston, at which a constitution for such a federation was formed. It provides for a body to be called the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies (American Council of Learned Societies, for short), which should be composed of two delegates from each of the national learned societies in the United States devoted to the advancement, by scientific methods, of the humanistic studies, and which should elect the two delegates to represent the United States in the UAI. With a little more leniency than was observed in 1787, it was provided that this constitution should go into effect when ratified by seven of the thirteen societies invited to be constituent; but nine of them have already accepted this constitution, mostly at annual meetings held at Christmas-time, and two more are expected to pass similar votes at annual or semi-annual meetings soon to be held.

Delegates having been at the same time appointed, the first meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held on February 14, in New York, at the rooms of the Institute of International Education, which for the present makes generous provision of quarters and of clerical assistance. Delegates from eleven societies were present—the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston), the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philological Association, the

Archaeological Institute of America, the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Modern Language Association of America. The American Historical Association was represented by Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, and J. F. Jameson. Organization was effected as follows: Professor Haskins was made chairman; Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania, a Latinist, and one of the representatives of the American Philological Association, was chosen as vice-chairman; Professor George M. Whicher, of Hunter College, secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America, was made secretary. The executive committee consists of these three and of Professor Allyn A. Young, of Cornell University, and Professor Hiram Bingham, of Yale University, representatives respectively of the American Economic Association and of the American Antiquarian Society. To represent the United States at the approaching meeting of the UAI, the Council chose Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and Mr. William H. Buckler, of Baltimore, archaeologist.

But what is there for such a council, or for an International Union of Academies, to do? It should be premised that, quite apart from international co-operation, the Council may find some modest fields of activity within the national boundaries of the United States. Content as we may be with the present organization of separate societies of specialists, there are some respects in which they may well be thought to work too much in isolation; there are ways in which they might well co-operate more largely, to the real benefit of learning in the United States. The twelve societies upon whose loose union the Council rests, themselves rest upon a total membership of more than 10,000, which ought to be no inconsiderable force in the promotion of learning, in any ways in which learning can be promoted by common action. But now as to international tasks. It is probable that the UAI, like the International Research Council or the International Association of Academies which existed before the war, will more often operate by way of consultation and advice, in forming projects the execution of which will be left, by partition of labor, to the scholars of individual nations, than by carrying out large tasks by machinery and means of its own. But of tasks which require, or are appropriate for, international co-operation there is no lack.

There are some undertakings in the field of scholarship which cannot well be left to one nation alone, lest the rights of other na-

tions in the matter be slighted or infringed. A capital instance is the matter of permits for excavation in the territory formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire. Such permits have hitherto been marked by favoritism, interruption, and caprice. Now, it seems, excellent regulations framed by an international committee will be attached to the Turkish treaties and to the mandates of the mandatory powers, which will put the exploration of Western Asia on a just and rational basis, safeguarding the rights of excavating nations and of the new countries. Again, the UAI affords good means for the organization of national historical and philological congresses. Through it scholars can join to press upon their respective governments a more uniformly liberal policy regarding the dates to which diplomatic archives can be open for inspection, or can support the preparation of fuller and more uniform guides to archival material or works of reference in diplomatic or international history. Again, in many cases where it is just as well that each nation should do its own scholarly work for itself, there is advantage in having the forms of publication standardized by some international body. The best method of bringing down to date the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* would be for the scholars of each country that was embraced in the Roman Empire to publish whatever Latin inscriptions have been in recent decades found within its borders, yet a uniform mode of presentation, and so far as possible uniform volumes, should be arranged for by joint agreement, and executed under general supervision of a joint committee. Still closer co-operation would be appropriate in the case of a proposed general collection of early Christian inscriptions, or of those early inscriptions in Europe which are neither Greek nor Latin nor Semitic.

The UAI may also, if the means can be found, carry out large compilations of its own, for the service of the scholars of all nations—a general current bibliography of the humanistic sciences, perhaps, or cyclopaedias of certain sorts, like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* already mentioned, or dictionaries of such languages as Arabic and Pali, or a modern edition of Du Cange. The American Council of Learned Societies might itself, conceivably, undertake such a project as that of a scholarly dictionary of American biography, a project long talked of. There is no lack of interesting projects, many of which have already been laid before the Union.

The amount which the Council or the UAI can achieve depends largely upon the amount of pecuniary support which can be secured. European academies have their funds, and may look to their governments for their increase. The American Council of Learned

Societies is provided, under its constitution, with a small annual revenue, for running expenses, supplied by the constituent societies. Each society contributes the modest sum of five cents a member, no society to pay less than \$25. This will yield \$600 or \$700. The American Historical Association, further, enters into the combination with the Andrew D. White Fund, a nest-egg of \$1000, at its disposal for purposes of international historical work approved by its representatives in the Council. Evidently, however, in order to do anything large, the Council will have to obtain money, from some one of the ten thousand members of its societies or from some other source. But at all events an interesting, and in some ways an inspiring, beginning has been already made.

J. F. J.

THE ARREST OF PROFESSORS FREDERICQ AND PIRENNE

IN the *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, XXVIII. 1, there has come to us an account, taken from the *Indépendance Belge*, of the means by which the arbitrary arrest, by German authority, of the two distinguished Belgian historians, Professors Paul Fredericq and Henri Pirenne of Ghent, was made known immediately to the outside world of scholars. We are sure that the following extract will be interesting, not only to the many friends of those two scholars who interested themselves in the American efforts to secure their release, but to medievalists and historical students generally, as showing how their simple arts can be put to practical use in an emergency. The allusions to M. Pirenne's children require no explanation, but it should be explained that "Paul le Beau" was the phrase by which the two archivists who figure in the correspondence were wont (with justice) to designate their friend Fredericq. It was through the action of Mr. Muller (the *molendinarius Ultrajectensis* indicated below) that the immediate appeal from the 179 Dutch academicians and professors to the Prussian Academy was organized, upon which followed the appeal of 100 American historical professors through our Department of State; and Mr. Muller throughout the captivity of our two colleagues was the unwearied agent for all communication with them.

Le lendemain de l'arrestation de MM. Fredericq et Pirenne, Mme. Pirenne envoya un messenger à un vieil ami de son mari, l'archiviste général du royaume, Cuvelier, pour qu'il prévint immédiatement son collègue, le célèbre archiviste d'Utrecht S. Muller, qui servait d'intermédiaire entre les fils Pirenne, au front, et la famille en Belgique. Mais

comment faire connaître en Hollande cette nouvelle, que les Allemands avaient tant d'intérêt à tenir cachée? M. Cuvelier eut recours au moyen le plus simple. Sur une carte postale, recommandée, il écrivit à M. Muller:

Mon cher collègue:

Puis-je vous demander de collationner le texte suivant dans la *Chronique d'Utrecht*, dont le manuscrit est conservé dans votre dépôt à l'année CMXV Idibus Martii (ancien style):

Hodie apprehenderunt Henricum, patrem parvi Petri, sociumque Paulum dictum Pulchrum et in partes que teutonice dicuntur Oostlant, missi sunt. Mater Jacobae Henricaeque molendinarium Ultrajectensem moneri petit.

Je crois, que Lamprecht—que vous avez consulté dans le temps—aurait pu nous édifier sur la lecture exacte, mais il est mort. Ne connaissez-vous pas l'archiviste de Crefeld [premier endroit de détention de M. Pirenne], qui doit posséder une copie plus moderne de ce texte? ou quelque autre académicien savant, qui saurait en démêler le sens?

Dans l'espoir, etc.

Quelques jours après M. Cuvelier reçut la réponse suivante:

Mon cher collègue:

J'ai consulté le manuscrit que vous me désignez; c'est le numéro 288 de l'inventaire sommaire. J'y trouve une notice, qui manque à votre texte et qui me semble intéressante:

Quibus statim nuntiatis in partibus inferioribus, magna ibi crevit emotio. Trajectenses imprimis operam dare conabantur. Molendinarius quidam, per confidentiam matris elatus, dixisse fertur, sperare ut eventus eum ea dignum monstraretur.

Le texte n'est pas très clair et d'une latinité peu édifiante; pourtant, le fragment ne me paraît pas sans quelque intérêt. Mater se rapporte peut-être à la mère qui est mentionnée dans votre texte. On m'a envoyé encore un manuscrit de La Haye, que j'ai étudié, mais il me paraît sans grand intérêt; ce qu'il dit ressemble fort à ce que j'avais déjà deviné en consultant mon manuscrit, qui est plus ancien.

Adieu, mon cher collègue; j'espère que votre édition de la chronique réussira. Nos amis se portent très bien et vous saluent.

(Signé) S. MULLER.

Les doctes Allemands n'avaient rien compris à la correspondance.

DOCUMENTS

Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606-1612; Jamestown, Ecija, and John Clark of the Mayflower

[Miss Irene A. Wright, of Seville, author of *The Early History of Cuba*, sends to the *Review* the following contribution, accompanied by numerous documents from the archives of Seville and Simancas, of which three are selected for publication. Thirty years ago the late Alexander Brown obtained from Simancas some eighty or ninety documents relating to this same matter, and printed translations of them in his *Genesis of the United States* (1897). They were a wonderful find, illuminated early Virginia history with a fresh light, and added to it many picturesque details. The translations, however, which he entrusted to Professor Schele de Vere, were often faulty.¹

Few of Miss Wright's Simancas documents are identical with Mr. Brown's, though sometimes they run parallel, for in that archive, in the division called *Secretaría de Estado*, there are two widely separated sections devoted to the "*Negociación de Inglaterra*", and Mr. Brown's documents were almost all taken from one of these, while Miss Wright's come from the other.² She also has found many pertinent documents in the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, mostly in the division called "*Indiferente General*".

The reasons for choosing, from Miss Wright's large series of documents, the three here presented, are sufficiently indicated below. After selecting them, the editor has made appropriate modifications in her introduction—without opportunity to consult her, but he trusts without marring her work—and has added such foot-notes as the lack of American books in Seville prevented her from supplying.

It has not been the custom of this journal to add translations of documents in Spanish, or other foreign languages, but an exception has been made in the case of the documents here presented, because they make their appeal not solely to students of Spanish-American history, presumed to be able to read Spanish, but also to many whose pursuit is the history of Virginia, or who, especially in this tercentenary year of 1920, are interested in any of the personages of the *Mayflower's* voyage.

In printing the Spanish texts, proper punctuation has been inserted, and the use of *u* and *v* and of *i* and *j* has been normalized. All dates are of new style.—Ed.]

DOCUMENTS preserved in the General Archive at Simancas, in Spain, show that, from the commencement, Don Pedro de Çuñiga,

¹ Professor Schele de Vere's statement of the difficulties of translation, Brown, *Genesis*, I. 43-44, is greatly exaggerated.

² Miss Wright's from the section comprising *legajos* 806-846; Mr. Brown's from that comprising *legajos* 2511-2604 (Biaudet's 10 and 49 respectively). See Díaz Sánchez, *Guía*, pp. 69, 74; Biaudet, *Les Archives de Simancas*, pp. 52, 60.

Spanish ambassador at London, kept his government informed concerning English activities in "a part of America called Virginia";³ other documents preserved in the Archive of the Indies at Seville show that, despite strenuous recommendations to action from its council of state, the Spanish government nevertheless took no steps toward hindering those activities. Not even when he was assured that Virginia constituted a peril, not only to his treasure galleons in the Caribbean, but even to his rich mines at Zacatecas, to Peru, and to all his business in the Pacific, did Philip move "to cut the thread" of English colonization in the New World.⁴ He underestimated the menace of it. He considered that the English were wasting money on a worthless region; and he was well pleased to see them do so.

For its own protection, the garrison in Florida was not, in 1608, reduced to 150 from 300 men, as had been intended,⁵ and in 1609 and again in 1611 expeditions were despatched to reconnoitre the region and to spy out details of the English settlement itself, but beyond this, regardless of the recommendations of his council of state that he use force to dislodge dangerous heretics from land which lay "within the demarkation of the crown of Castile", the Catholic king took no measures to upset the new-laid cornerstone of British empire; he contented himself with seeking information concerning it. Of the two reconnaissances made, additional information can now be presented.

On December 24, 1606, Don Pedro de Cũñiga wrote that the King of England had issued patents to two colonies, conceding to them all the mainland of North America between 32° and 55°, from the coast inland for 100 leagues. The settlers were free "to plant their religion in that part". They were to rob nobody, on penalty of forfeiting the king's protection, which, otherwise, they were to have. The second colony was not to be within 100 leagues of the first, "but he does not speak", the ambassador remarked, "of the distance they should be from your majesty's ships", passing, he meant, through the Bahama Channel en route from the colonies to Spain, with rich cargoes of silver and of other valuable merchandise. Officers were being sworn in, and, with the assistance of the Spanish king's rebel vassals of the Low Countries, the English meant, Don Pedro declared, to send two thousand settlers into Virginia.⁶

³ *E.g.*, Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 843, f. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, leg. 844, f. 21.

⁵ Seville, Archivo General de Indias, 147-5-16, Indiferente General, junta de guerra de Indias, January 26, 1607, July 8, 1608.

⁶ Cũñiga to king, December 24, 1606, *ibid.* (printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 88-90).

With this despatch in view, the council for war in the Indies on March 14, 1607, recommended that "all necessary force should be employed to hinder this project, and by no means should opportunity be afforded to foreign nations to occupy this land, for it was discovered by the crown of Castile and lies within its demarkation. Moreover, their proximity would, as is obvious, worry all the Indies and Indian trade, the more so if they introduce there the religion and liberty of conscience which they profess. This alone is what most obliges [us] to the defense, next after [our] reputation, which is so imperilled." The council further advised that Don Pedro de Cũniga be instructed to investigate carefully and if he found that the plans he had outlined were being carried into effect, he was to "lay the matter before the king of England, complaining that he permit his vassals to attempt to disturb the peace of the seas, coasts and lands of your majesty, and that, through him, the rebels and other nations be favored in this project".⁷

On August 21, 1608, his council of state, having seen a report by the Jesuit, Father Cresuelo, and certain advices submitted by Colonel (Sir William) Stanley, assured Philip "that this matter of Virginia is not to be remedied by any negotiation, but by force, punishing those who have gone there, for to do so will not break the peace".⁸ On October 22, 1608, the council for war in the Indies advised the king "that an armada should be assembled, with all possible speed, to go hunt them and drive them out from wherever they may be, punishing them exemplarily, and because at present there is in Spain no armada which can be used for this purpose, nor means nor inclination to assemble one, the council proposes to your majesty the ten galleons which have just been built at Dunkirk for the coasts of Flanders. . . ." They were in a convenient port; 50,000 ducats might be appropriated from the silver which the armada was bringing from the Indies, to arm, man, and provision them. Juan Gutierrez de Garibay, already designated to command these vessels, knew the Florida coast, and might at the last moment be ordered to proceed to Virginia, with confidence "that God will give him success on this occasion". The king confined himself to decreeing that the galleons (*galeoncetas*, he called them) be brought to Spain; "as for the rest, I will be considering it".⁹

He referred the suggestion of the council for war to the council

⁷ Junta de guerra de Indias, March 14, 1607, *ibid.* Rebels of the Netherlands are meant.

⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 10, 11.

⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* based on Cũniga's letter of March 28, 1608, for which see Brown, *Genesis*, I. 147.

of state and on November 22, 1608, that body expressed agreement with them; "that it will be well to bring here the ten *galeoncetas* which have been built in Dunkirk, and when they shall have arrived, to see, according to the condition of affairs then, what may be most convenient to do; and in order that no time be lost in bringing the said *galeoncetas*, that your majesty deign to order to be provided at once the money recommended by the council; and that inquiry be made whether General Juan Gutierrez de Garibay is available for this undertaking".¹⁰ Regardless of whether he was, or not, the undertaking itself seems never to have materialized.

The crown desired further information concerning Virginia. At this same time (October 22, 1608) Martin de Aroztegui, who was at San Sebastian, was ordered, through the council for war in the Indies, "to inform himself (with great secrecy and skill) from pilots and persons who have recently arrived from Newfoundland in San Juan de Luz and other parts of that province, whether en route going or coming they met or sighted any vessels belonging to English or other northern nationalities who may have gone to those regions, and particularly to Virginia which is toward the coast of Florida, and if they have learned anything of their designs, and in what latitude they met them", etc., etc. He was to report if there were two small vessels available, with pilots and mariners acquainted with those western waters, estimating the expense of sending them out to reconnoitre Virginia. Aroztegui reported on November 1. The council had written of Virginia; his reply was all New France. Canada and the northwest passage occupied his horizon.¹¹

On November 8, 1608—perhaps immediately upon receipt of Aroztegui's prompt response—a *cédula* was issued, through the council for war in the Indies, to Pedro de Ybarra, governor of Florida, bidding him explore "the bays and ports which are in Virginia and its coasts", and discover "what English or rebels have gone there and with what designs and if they have established and fortified themselves in any part and with what people and forces". He was to report promptly. It had evidently been decided that the reconnaissance could be made most cheaply and most expediently from Florida. The text of this *cédula* echoes Don Pedro de Cúñiga's despatch of December 24, 1606, and the views thereon expressed by the council for war in the Indies, but without diminishing the menace they described, for the *cédula* estimates the Englishmen about to pour into Virginia at 2500 or 3000, whereas the ambassador had

¹⁰ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 21.

¹¹ Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9, junta de guerra; 143-5-2, Aroztegui.

reckoned the possibilities at 2000 only! The king suggested that Governor Ybarra despatch upon this mission Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, who, in 1605, had been commissioned to explore the coast north of the Florida settlements, and in execution of that commission had gone as far as Cape San Roman. He was to make a very thorough reconnaissance of the country and report in detail upon it and upon what the English, or the rebels, had accomplished there.¹²

Through the next two years and more the ambassador at London, Don Pedro de Cũniga, and his successor, Don Alonso de Velasco, continued to report the varying fortunes of the Virginia venture, and the council of state continued to assure the crown that the matter was important and should be attended to "very much in earnest".¹³ Nothing was done—not even when, writing on June 14, 1610, Don Alonso de Velasco reported that "the English who went to Virginia are besieged by the Indians, most of them having died, and the rest are eating each other for hunger, on account of which that enterprise is cooling down, and it would be easy to undo it completely by sending a few ships to finish off the survivors". In vain the council of state urged Philip to take advantage of this "excellent opportunity" to obliterate the English from the New World.¹⁴

Toward the end of 1610, according to the despatches of the Spanish ambassador at London, the Virginia enterprise revived; and early in 1611 it was evidently felt that further information in the matter must be had. Don Francisco de Varte informed the council for war in the Indies that he knew a Catholic Englishman who could be relied upon to go to Virginia, from England itself, investigate, and report.¹⁵ When, in April, 1611, the council was of a mind to use him, this man was not available;¹⁶ by the time (June) that he became so, the council had altered its plans and ordered de Varte to drop negotiations with him.¹⁷ Possibly Governor Ybarra had meanwhile been heard from.

¹² Seville, A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Méjico, Virrey, Registro de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

¹³ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 26, *consulta* of April 7, 1609, based on Cũniga's letters of March 5 and 15, the former of which is printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 243-247; and leg. 844, f. 14, *consulta* of July 28, 1609, based on Cũniga's letters of April 22 and 29 and May 20, from the last of which an extract is printed in Brown, I. 310.

¹⁴ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 44, 50, *consultas* of July 3 and November 2, 1610. Velasco's letter of June 14 is in Brown, I. 392.

¹⁵ Velasco's letters of September 30 and December 31, 1610, in Brown, I. 418, 442. Secretary of council to Varte, April 30, 1611, Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9.

¹⁶ Same to same, June 7, 1611, A. G. I., *ibid.*

¹⁷ Same to same, June 21, *ibid.*

Now, before January, 1611, the Spanish council for war, either being uninformed of what the council for war in the Indies had done in this matter, or considering that it had not done enough, decided that it was advisable to send over a competent person to make a thorough reconnaissance of that region and to investigate carefully into English accomplishment in colonization. The council of state was of the opinion that the governor of Cuba, too, should be ordered to look into the strength of the enemy in Virginia.¹⁸

The council for war in the Indies was indignant at the national council's incursion into its domain. It had before it Governor Ybarra's report on his compliance with the *cédula* of November 8, 1608. The reconnaissance which the council for war was now ordering made, had been made already, and the council for war in the Indies petitioned the crown to avoid a repetition of it. This the king declined to do. He decreed that letters he had ordered written through the council for war to the governors of Florida and Cuba should be sent regardless, bidding them to favor the second reconnaissance party;¹⁹ these letters were despatched, presumably under date of March 22, 1611, and the expedition they concerned cleared forthwith from Lisbon.²⁰

Although the council for war in the Indies had said in March that it had Ybarra's report before it, not until May 5, 1611, was the king informed of what Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija had done. Their *consulta* of that date is the document printed below with the number I.²¹ Captain Ecija's own report, full and elaborate, with summaries of the speeches made by him and his officers on various occasions, is in existence,²² but the *consulta* sets forth nearly all it contains that is of any importance as respects the Virginian settlement. Governor Ybarra had also sent a *derrotero* (pilot-book) of

¹⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 56, *consulta* of January 22, 1611.

¹⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* of March 23, 1611, and *resolución* of the king.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *consulta* of council for war in Indies, October 31, 1611, and "the Duke" (of Lerma) to Antonio de Aroztegui, December 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 147-5-17.

²² Brown speaks of this relation, I. 326, stating that Dr. Shea declined to let him use the copy which Buckingham Smith had bequeathed to the New York Historical Society. There is now also a copy in the Library of Congress, Lowery Collection, Florida, vol. VI., which the editor has used in interpreting our documents. It is marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Real Armada, Gobierno, Papeles pertenecientes . . . 1567 a 1609, Patronato, 2-5- $\frac{3}{8}$ ", is a manuscript of some 12,500 words, and (with Ybarra's preceding orders) is entitled, "Orden del Gobernador D. Pedro de Ybarra (de S. Agustin de la Florida) a el Capitan Francisco Fernandez de Ecija para reconocer las costas del norte de aquella Provincia, y Relacion de este viage llevado a cabo por el mismo Capitan".

Ecija's voyage, made by his pilot, and describing sea-marks, coast-line, harbors, and soundings.²³ The *consulta* shows the opinions which the report inspired in Ybarra and in the council. Upon it the king wrote: "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port, await what he shall bring who went."

"He . . . who went" was Captain Diego de Molina. He was called *alcaide* (warden) for he was to have been warden of a fort in South America had not an expedition in which he had been active, and at expense, been abandoned, leaving him without employment, and seeking compensation, when the council for war sought a man to visit Virginia.²⁴

Through the council for war, as has been said, a *cédula* dated March 22, 1611,²⁵ was issued to the governors of Florida and Cuba, Ybarra and Gaspar de Pereda; I have not seen this document, but under date of March 30 another was addressed to these governors through the council for war in the Indies which, I take it, was to the same effect—a confirmation, that is, by their immediate superiors, of the commands of the council for war. The *cédula* of March 30 informs Pereda and Ybarra that the *alcaide* Don Diego de Molina and the *alférez* (standard-bearer, ensign) Marco Antonio Perez have been ordered to go "in a caravel which has been equipped for them, on account of the Atlantic squadron, to reconnoitre the port and land called Virginia which is on the coast of Florida". Both governors were instructed to lend all possible assistance.²⁶

On pretense that they were going to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship, Molina and Perez cleared from Lisbon April 13; a "confidential" Englishman, married in that city,²⁷ accompanied them. It is possible that he had served as pilot in the Spanish navy under Don Luis Fajardo. In their caravel, *Nuestra Señora del*

²³ Of this also there is a copy in the same volume of the Lowery Collection, "Derrotero que hizo Andres Gonzalez piloto en la Florida, del viage que verificó por mandado de Pedro de Ybarra, Gobernador y Capitan General de aquellas Provincias, al Xacan", a transcript of nearly 8000 words, marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Florida, Patronato, 1-1-^o Ro. 31". It is of value for identifying place-names, and has been used in annotating the documents here printed. It appears from a remark in Shepherd's *Guide to Spanish Archives*, p. 80, that there is also a map by Gonzalez, in the same section of the Patronato.

²⁴ Seville, A. G. I., 145-1-3.

²⁵ A. G. I., 54-1-16, and the documents referred to in notes 19 and 20, above.

²⁶ A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Méjico, Virrey, Registros de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

²⁷ Francis Lymbry; see Brown, II. 650, 739, and *passim*. Dale hanged him on his voyage to England in 1616. Purchas, IV. 1713, and Smith, *Generall Historie*, who says, p. 119, that the man had been a pilot for the Spanish Armada in 1588.—The date of sailing is given in Brown, I. 511.

Rosario, Amador Lousado, master, they arrived in Havana on May 24, 1611. In obeying his instructions to their satisfaction Governor Pereda delivered to them a Biscay shallop, with munitions, provisions, etc., "of all which they had great need". With both vessels they cleared from Havana for Virginia on June 2.²⁸

The story of their voyage may be followed by means of various documents in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, especially a report enclosed in a letter of the Duke of Lerma to Secretary Antonio de Aroztegui, November 13, 1611.²⁹ That report gives us at second hand the substance of what is given at first hand in the documents printed below, under the numbers II. and III. No. II.³⁰ contains the declaration of "the Englishman from Virginia" whom the narrative shows to have been captured there, and a declaration, apparently not quite complete, made jointly by the master, the pilot, and a mariner of the caravel which had taken Molina, Perez, and the English *confidente* up to the Virginian coast. These declarations were made in Havana on July 23, 1611, the day after the caravel's return to that port.³¹ No. III.³² is a later declaration by the same man, "confession of the English pilot from Virginia", taken down in Madrid, February 18, 1613. There are significant differences in one or two details: he was "thirty-five years old and of the religion of his king" when he arrived in Havana; he was forty, a year and a half later when he got to Spain, and a Catholic! But what lends exceptional interest to his depositions is that this English pilot, captured at Point Comfort, was none other than that John Clark who in 1620 was mate of the *Mayflower*. It appears that he was in Malaga in 1609; sailed from London for Virginia with Sir Thomas Dale in March, 1611; was a prisoner in Havana till 1612 and in Spain until 1616, when he was released; made a voyage to Virginia in 1619; was with the *Mayflower* in 1620; was made free of the Virginia Company in 1622; went to Virginia in 1623, and died there soon after.³³

²⁸ Seville, A. G. I., 54-1-16, 81-6-7, and 147-5-16, *consulta* of October 31, 1611.

²⁹ Simancas, Estado, leg. 2588, ff. 81, 82; Brown, I. 511-522.

³⁰ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³¹ Brown, I. 518; re-examined later, I. 522.

³² From the next *legajo*, 147-5-17.

³³ Brown, II. 854 *et passim*; (royal order for transfer to Spain, January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; arrival at Seville before December 22, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 152; at Madrid before February 9, 1613, Lerma to Salinas, A. G. I., 147-5-17; released January 26, 1616, Contreras to Vergara, February 1, A. G. I., 140-2-9 III.); Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 132-133; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Ford, I. 116, 277; *Records of the Virginia Com-*

Governor Pereda had detained the crew of caravel and shallop, in hopes that a punitive expedition, which he stood ready to lead in person, would be formed in Havana; if it were, experienced men would come in handy. Or if such an expedition were sent from Spain they could join it at Puerto Rico, where doubtless it would call.³⁴ A year later, because he felt the expense to which he was being put, because he had received no orders concerning it, and perhaps because he had lost hope that any action would be taken against the English, the governor sent the caravel to Spain in company with the treasure galleons.³⁵

The council for war in the Indies on October 31, 1611, recommended that the Spanish ambassador in London be instructed to seek the release of the three men whom the English had held in Virginia, and the crown so ordered. It was to be argued that it was unjust to hold them, for they had gone to that coast to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship; this was the same story Molina told the English captain at dinner at the fort at Point Comfort!³⁶ London agreed, or perhaps proposed, to exchange the Spaniards for John Clark, and on January 17, 1612, Governor Pereda was ordered to send him at the earliest safe opportunity to the Casa de la Contratación at Seville. It was specified that he was to be well treated and there is evidence that he was so. Despite this early agreement to exchange prisoners, John Clark was not delivered to the British ambassador at Madrid until February, 1616; on receipt of evidence that he had been so delivered, Don Diego de Molina was to be handed over to the Spanish ambassador in London, who was then Don Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña (afterward count of Gondomar).³⁷ The English were slow to give him up (Perez had died in

pany, I. 599, February 13, 1622, "Mr. Deputy acquainted the Court that one mr. Jo. Clarke beinge taken from Virginia longe since by a Spanish Shippe that come to discover that Plantacion by whome he was carried to Spayne and there deteyned fower yeares thinkinge to have made him an instrument to betray that Plantacion, That for somuch as he hath since that time donn the Companie good service in many voyages to Virginia and of late went into Ireland for transportacion of Cattle to Virginia he was an humble Suitor to this Court that he might be admitted a free Brother of the Companie and have some shares of land bestowed upon him", which was done; *ibid.*, II. 32, 75, 90, May 22, July 3, 1622.

³⁴ Pereda to the crown, August 12, 1611, A. G. I., 147-5-17; September 11, *ibid.*, 54-1-16; *consulta* of the junta de guerra, October 31, *ibid.*, 147-5-16.

³⁵ Pereda to the crown, August 28, 1612, *ibid.*, 54-1-16.

³⁶ No. III., below; Contreras to Lerma, December 5, 1611, and Lerma to A. de Aroztegui, December 15, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³⁷ *Real orden* of January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; *consultas* of the junta de guerra, January 19, December 22, 1612, January 24, February 23, 1613, July 6, 1614, July 9, 1615, in A. G. I., 147-5-17; of the council of state,

captivity), but by the end of that year Molina was in Spain, welcoming a thousand ducats given to him by his government "in consideration of his long and good service, and the great need in which he finds himself because of his long detention in Virginia".³⁸ He was then planning to go with caravels to reconnoitre and sound the Straits of Magellan.³⁹ It is to be presumed that what information he had concerning Virginia was stale by the time he was permitted to deliver it to his government.

Clark's depositions gave a picture—especially of cannon and fighting force—which may well have inspired respect, and misgiving. In many more advantageous situations, Spaniards had not accomplished in a hundred years as much as John Clark declared that the English had done at Jamestown in half a decade.⁴⁰ And now the ambassador in London said⁴¹ that in response to the Virginia governor's appeals for help, against Spanish attack which he foresaw for that spring, the company of merchants behind the Virginia enterprise was about to send over eight hundred more men, well armed, well clad, with supplies and munitions for a year. The Spanish ambassador assured the king that one hundred went early in March, 1612, and others were expected to follow in April to a total of not over a thousand.⁴²

There was wide divergence in the views of his counsellors as to what the king of Spain ought to do about it. The council for war in the Indies recommended the despatch, in March, 1612, if possible, of an expedition to consist of as many as four thousand men, "to turn the English out" of Virginia. There was discussion whether this expedition should be raised wholly in Spain, or whether resources available in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo should

December 22, 1612, October 31, 1613, January 11, 1614, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, ff. 152, 172, 175-177; Ledesma to Portugal, November 13, 1612, A. G. I., 152-1-3, vol. 10, p. 135; Contreras to Vergara, December 24, 1612, February 1, 1616, to the prison-keeper, February 26, 1613, to Çiriça, February 18, 1616, *ibid.*, 140-2-9; Lerma to Salinas, February 9, 1613, *ibid.*, 147-5-17. Cf. instructions of Philip III. in Brown, II. 533, 603, 631, 657, 663, and letters of Molina, *ibid.*, pp. 652, 737-744.

³⁸ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV., p. 105

³⁹ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV.

⁴⁰ For instance, outside Havana, a very important place, where a garrison of 450 men was maintained, and civilians trained in arms raised the fighting strength to approximately a thousand, there was no settlement in all Cuba to compare with Jamestown, as John Clark described it. But Clark somewhat exaggerated the population; see note 70, below.

⁴¹ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴² *Id.*, and *consultas* of March 17 and May 15, *ibid.*, ff. 112, 119.

be called upon; evidently Governor Pereda and the Marques de Salinas had discussed this matter when the latter passed through Havana, and with the marques the council for war in the Indies conferred on his arrival in Spain. There was much talk as to what ships should be used; while the council wanted a large enough force sent to avoid humiliating defeat, it was not desired that the undertaking appear so formidable, or so formally a government enterprise, that the King of England would feel obliged to break the peace on account of it. There were those who held that if the riff-raff who had gone to Virginia were only killed quietly enough, James would conclude that it was their own fault, because they had gone there! In favor of raising this expedition largely in the Indies it was argued that it would provide the King of Spain with the excuse that it was done without his sanction by residents in the Indies alarmed for their own safety. Only one voice in the council for war in the Indies, and that speaking feebly, decried the importance of the English settlement, belittling the desirability of putting an immediate end to it.⁴³

On the contrary, in the council of state the *comendador mayor* of Leon voiced what was now that body's opinion⁴⁴ when he declared that he did not consider the English colony dangerous, nor Virginia valuable, since neither gold nor silver had been found there; it was thought that Clark's testimony showed the settlement to constitute no menace to Spanish commerce. The idea grew that it was clever policy to encourage the English to waste their money. It was even suggested that another vessel be sent to reconnoitre, to worry them and force them to further expenditure.⁴⁵ And this was indeed the policy which Spain adopted, in 1612, toward Virginia.

It will be recalled that in 1565 Philip II. had just given Florida up as hopeless, and had announced his intention to have no more to do with it, when he learned that Frenchmen were succeeding there, where Spaniards had failed. In response to their challenge, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés fared forth—the very spirit of the Spain of his time, sword in one hand and cross in the other—for Christ Our Lord, for the Catholic king, and for the merchants of Seville—to enforce Spanish religious, political, and commercial monopoly in the Indies. Now, precisely when he was wearied of that north country and fain to check the drain it made upon his

⁴³ *Consulta* of January 19, 1612, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

⁴⁴ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, and *consulta* of August 31, 1612, *ibid.*, f. 146.

patience and his purse, the English had arisen to menace another Philip in exactly the same fashion, from Virginia.

But times had changed, and men with them. The day of the religious fanatic—the day of Menéndez and of Drake—had passed, and no zealot arose to serve the Holy Catholic Faith as devoutly in Virginia as it had been served in Florida, a generation before, despite the fact that the king's councils lamented the proximity of heresy and in plain words recommended slitting the throats of the Protestants of Virginia as those of the Calvinists had in all piety been slit in Florida. Though Philip was still jealous of his political supremacy “within the demarkation of the crown of Castile”, he was prudently so; after all, it was a worthless country which the King of England had made bold to assign to his subjects, for it contained neither gold nor silver mines. The Catholic king had had more than enough of war with Englishmen; Philip harbored no desire to break the peace—certainly Virginia was not worth it. Though Spain still maintained the pretense of monopoly of Indies trade, Philip II. himself had confessed, to his son, that the English could not be kept out of it;⁴⁶ to “clean the seas” in the Indies had been too great a task even for the convictions and the ability of Pedro Menéndez. But to protect her lion's share of the profits from the Indies Spain had built her a navy to match and more than match the sea-power of England; though it did not prevent him from being always a-tremble in his royal shoes for the safety of his merchant fleets and of his treasure-galleons, possession of that navy must have operated to persuade Philip that Jamestown meant less to Spanish commerce than had Port Royal.⁴⁷ The Spaniards took little stock in hopes of finding a northwest passage.⁴⁸ It is doubtful whether the suggestion that the settlement at Jamestown constituted a danger to Mexico, the Isthmus, Peru, and the China trade, appeared preposterous to Philip; he possessed no accurate map with which to compare it, and Drake and Essex had demonstrated that there was nothing whatsoever impossible to men of their nationality. But, lacking the spur of religious fanaticism, feeling no deep fear of Virginia in any commercial aspect, for once Spain failed to respond to that which usually moved her effectively; she failed to react to the threat of foreign aggression. Philip was content in 1612 to try to keep himself informed concerning Virginia,⁴⁹ and meanwhile

⁴⁶ See Corbett, *The Successors of Drake*, p. 238.

⁴⁷ See Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II. 367.

⁴⁸ Council of state, January 3, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 91.

⁴⁹ Council of state, May 15, 1612, May 9, 1613, *ibid.*, ff. 119-120, 165; junta de guerra, January 24, 1613, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

to let the English spend there all the money they would waste upon a region he considered undesirable.

IRENE A. WRIGHT

I. CONSULTA OF THE COUNCIL FOR WAR IN THE INDIES, MARCH 5, 1611.⁵⁰

Junta de guerra de Indias A 5 de Marzo 1611.—Con lo que se ofrezca acerca de la virginia que los yngleses la ban ocupando.

don diego de ybarra.	<i>Señor:</i> Vuestra magestad, por cedula de ocho de noviembre de 608
don diego brochero.	despachada Por esta Junta de
don fernando Giron.	guerra, mando a Pedro de ybarra
Licenciado don francisco arias	governador y capitan general que
maldonado.	entonces hera de la florida orde-
doctor bernardo de olmedilla.	nase al capitan francisco fernan-
licenciado don francisco de tejada.	dez de ecija, o a otro de quien

tubiese satisfacion, fuese por la Costa del Norte y pasando el Cavo de san Roman reconociese todo lo que toca a la virginia y los puertos, bayas y escollos que ay en su Costa en los sitios que se puedan fortificar, y si los yngleses o otras naciones an pasado a aquellas partes y si an hecho pie y fortificadose en alguna y en donde y como y con que gente y fuerzas, o si an poblado algun lugar y porque derrota an ydo, y de que sustancia es aquella tierra y lo que della pueden sacar estas naciones y con que yndios se Comunican y que distancia ay desde la florida a la Virginia o a la parte donde an hecho asiento, y con que prevençiones y fuerzas se podrian hechar de alli y estorvarles sus yntentos y castigarlos. en cuyo cumplimiento despacho el governador al dicho capitan ecija en Una çabra con 25 personas de mar y guerra y una yndia natural y lengua de aquellas provinçias casada con Un soldado español y algunas azadas y otras cosas de hierro que le dio para grangear las boluntades de los yndios y Rescatar a Un franzes que havia muchos años le tenia preso Un Caçique de aquellas partes para que tamvien les sirviese de lengua, y por la ynstrucion que le dio le hordenó hiziese la diligencia que vuestra magestad mandava hasta llegar a la altura de 37 grados y medio, que es el parage a donde entendia estava la poblacion de los yngleses, y que no los allando alli pasase hasta la mina del oro que es a los 44 grados y medio, Reconociendo el gran Rio de gama que es en 43 grados, y el dicho capitan ecija salio del puerto de san agustin de la florida a Hazer esta diligencia en 26 de Junio de 609 y fue Reconociendo y sondando todos los puertos y bayas que havia en la costa, y haviendo llegado al Rio que llaman del Jordan a los 8 de Julio se ynformo alli del yndio mandado[r] y otros y tubo noticia que a quatro dias de camino pasado el llano de san Roman estan a la poblacion de los yngleses en Un pueblo que se llama guandape, Junto a Un Rio que sale a la mar, y es en una isla çercada de agua que de una banda se sirve con la tierra firme, y que de hordinario ay en este puerto navios y habria tres meses que salieron siete, y los seis tomaron la buelta del norte y el otro la del sur, y en el puerto quedavan siempre algunos de Respeto y cada dia yban y venian otros muchos de

⁵⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17. In the margin the king has written, "Pues se ha embiado a Reconocer aquel puerto espere a lo que trugere el que fue", i.e., "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port await what he shall bring who went".

la buelta del norte, y que tenian hecho un fuerte pero que hera de madera y estavan confederados con los caciques Comarcanos y a ocho de ellos los Comunicaban como amigos y los regalavan mucho y les davan vestidos y herramientas y los mandavan sembrar, sin que los mismos yngleses se ocupasen en esto sino en su fortificaçion, y en la parte donde de todo esto se ynformo el capitan eçija Rescato al franzes (llamado Juan corbe) natural de have de graçia y Con el salieron en seguimiento de su Viaje a lds 15 de Julio, y a los 25 del llegando a la baya del Jacan (que por otro nombre llaman la Virginia) Reconoçio un navio surto en ella y por ser de mucho mas porte que el que ellos llevaban, porque traya dos velas de gavia y una gran bandera de tope, y haver hechado de ver que deseava enpeñarlos en la baya donde pudiese ser señor porque se yba Retirando, no se atrevieron a seguirle ni a cerrar con el, y así pasaron luego hasta 35 grados y medio de donde por tormentas y estar el tienpo adelante para aquellos mares dieron la buelta para el Jordan, y alli se bolvieron a ynformar de los yngleses, Y Ratificando los yndios en lo que antes havian dicho añadieron que junto a la fuerza de madera hechavan mucha piedra el agua a media pierna y que la trayan con unos barcos y havia muchas mugeres y niños que yban a pasear por los campos y casas de los yndios cercanos, y que desde el Rio Jordan a la poblacion por Camino derecho por tierra ay poco mas de 50 leguas, y a sant agustin de la florida 100, de manera que desde ella a la parte donde los yngleses se ban fortificando ay 150 leguas, y el franzes que Rescataron declaro que de los yndios del pueblo en que estubo cautibo, que yban y venian de Hordinario a la poblacion de los yngleses, supo que tenian hecho un fuerte de madera y su pueblo formado de lo mismo y dos navios gruesos artillados a manera de Castillos en guarda del fuerte y otros dos en guarda y centinela de la barra, sin los que yban y venian, y que todos los años yva un navio de ynglaterra Cargados de bastimentos y Municiones; y con esta Relaçion ynvio el governador pedro de yvarra un derrotero del Viaje que Hizo el dicho capitan eçija, hecho Por el piloto que fue con el, diziendo las señas y la calidad de los puertos y bayas que ay desde la florida a la parte donde llegaron, y el governador dize en su carta que le pareçe que el disgnio que llevan estos yngleses, a lo que a podido entender, es fortificarse en la dicha baya del Jacan, que tiene quatro leguas y mas de boca y apartandose de tierra desde su entrada un tiro de piedra veinte brazas de fondo donde menos, y entrar la tierra adentro trayendo para esto gente suficiente hasta llegar a la nueva mexico, nueva galicia, y Vizcaya y çacatecas, que estan en su misma altura, y pasar a la otra mar del poniente atravesando la tierra, porque de la parte de la florida suben grandes Rios la tierra adentro y de la otra mar tanvien se tiene notiçia que salen otros no menores y que ay poca distançia de los unos a los otros, y subiendo el enemigo por los de la banda del este podra abaxar por los del Ueste y fortificarse en los puertos de la mar y hazer alla navios y armadas y correr toda la Costa de la nueva españa, tierra firme, peru y china en gran daño de la Corona y basallos de vuestra magestad, y que antes que se apodere mas de la tierra ymportaria tratar el hecharle della, porque como a los naturales no les quitan nada de sus Ritos, que es lo que ellos mas quieren, y Juntamente los acarician y Regalan, aun que con cosas de poco valor, los tienen muy gratos y contentos y se les ban allegando todos, y en aquella Costa del norte Podran poblar la barra de cayagua que es estremado sitio 70

leguas del presidio de la florida en 33 grados y medio, a donde pueden venir por tierra desde su poblacion y ay Cantidad de yndios muy vien proveydos de frutos de la tierra y otros mantenimientos.

y aviendose Visto todo en la junta de guerra, Juntamente con otros papeles que ynçidentemente se llevaron a ella aun que de poco credito, y que vuestra magestad en respuesta de una consulta de 23 de marzo deste año, sobre que se suspendiese la execucion de la diligencia que por el Consejo de guerra se ynviava a Hazer en rrazon de Reconocer la Virginia y que esto Corriese por la junta pues le tocava y hera materia que estava yntroducida en ella, manda se Cunpla lo que por el dicho Consejo de guerra tenia resuelto y que si a la junta se le ofrèciere otra Cosa que convenga prevenir para la execucion dé lo que se a de hazer se le consulte, y considerando los daños e ynconvenientes grandes que se prometen de la vezindad destos yngleses y el cuydado en que pondrian a todas las yndias occidentales y contratacion dellas, mayormente si plantan en aquellas partes la Religion que profesan, a parescido que al servicio de dios y de vuestra magestad y vien universal de sus Vasallos conviene mucho atajarles desde luego sus yntentos, hechandolos de alli antes que echen mas Raizes y se apoderen mas de la tierra y se fortifiquen y tengan mayores fuerzas y se estiendan Por otras partes como lo yran procurando, pues no es otro su disignio, y si esto no se Haze con tiempo sera despues muy difcil, mas para que se pueda hazer con efecto, porque las notiçias que se tienen no se juzgan por bastantes, sera bien Cobrarla çierta y entera de todo lo que ay en la Virginia y para esto, demas del medio que por el Consejo de guerra se tomo y se mando executar, se a ofrècido otro, y es que siendo vuestra magestad servido se podrian ynviar dos Religiosos del seminario de yngleses que mas satisfacion se tenga para que vayan a ynglaterra y se embarquen en la Primera ocasion de navios que de alli se ynvia a la Virginia, y enterados de los Vezinos poblacion y fortificaciones y la calidad y disposicion del puerto o puertos donde se ban fortificando se buelban a inglaterra en los mismos navios del trato y de alli a españa Con la mayor y mas entera noticia de todo que se pueda, para que teniendo la neçesaria por anbas Vias se ponga en execucion el yr con fuerzas suficientes a Hecharlos de alli.

don diego de ybarra y don fernando xiron, presupuesto que conviene mucho no se pierda ningun tienpo en cosa que tanto ynporta, son de pareçer que mientras se Hazen estas diligencias se bayan Juntando (dando yntento que son para otro algun efecto del servicio de vuestra magestad) hasta quatro o cinco mil hombres y los baxeles necesarios para ellos que sean muy buenos y aproposito para este efecto, con marineros plasticos de aquella navegacion, que llevando Cabeza de la esperiencia noticia y satisfacion que Conbenga para semejante empresa Juzgan seran bastantes fuerças para Conseguir lo que se pretende, demas de que si las nuevas notiçias que se tubieren obligaren a que sean mayores se podran acreçentar con brevedad, para que estando todo a punto salga a navegar la armada para fin de marzo del año que viene de 612, que es el tienpo mas aproposito para el viaje que an de hazer, porque entrado el verano corren en aquellos mares bientos Contrarios y asi yrian muy aventurados y por lo menos seria ynfructuosa la costa que se hiziese pues no podran hazer ningun buen efecto. Vuestra magestad lo mandara ver y probeher lo que mas se sirva. en madrid a 5 de Mayo 1611. (Hay seis rubricas.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Council for War in the Indies, March 5, 1611; with what is offered concerning Virginia, which the English are occupying.

Don Diego de Ybarra.

Don Diego Brochero.

Don Fernando Giron.

Licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado.

Doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla.

Licenciado Don Francisco de Tejada.

My Lord:

Your Majesty, by *cédula* of November 8, 1608, transmitted through this council for war, commanded Pedro de Ybarra, at that time governor and captain general of Florida, to order Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, or some other that he found satisfactory, to go along the coast northward, and, passing Cape San Roman,⁵¹ to reconnoitre all that relates to Virginia and the ports, bays, and reefs along its coast in the places that can be fortified, and see whether the English, or other nations, have gone to these regions, and whether they have set foot and fortified themselves in any, and where and how and with what people and forces, or whether they have settled any place, and by what route they have gone, and of what quality that land is, and what these nations can obtain from it, and with what Indians they communicate, and what is the distance from Florida to Virginia or to that place where they have settled, and with what measures and forces they can be driven from there and frustrated of their designs and punished. In pursuance of which the governor despatched the said captain Ecija⁵² in a pinnace with twenty-five sailors and soldiers and an Indian woman, a native of those provinces and having their language, married to a Spanish soldier,⁵³ and some hoes and other things of iron which he gave him to obtain the good-will of the Indians and to rescue a Frenchman whom a cacique of those regions had for many years held captive, in order that he also might serve them as interpreter; and by the instructions that he gave him he ordered that he should use the diligence which Your Majesty commanded, until he should come to the latitude of 37½ degrees, which is the place where he understood that the settlement of the English was, and that if he did not find them there he should go on to the gold-mine that is in 44½ degrees,⁵⁴ examining the great Rio de Gama

⁵¹ Cape Fear. The various identifications suggested in these notes are made with the aid of the detailed *derrotero* mentioned in note 23, above, but are not advanced too positively.

⁵² Ecija was captain of one of the two companies of soldiers maintained at St. Augustine, had been there thirty years, and was a man of about sixty-five; so it appears from depositions in the Lowery Collection, Florida, VI., concerning a certain Alonso Sancho Saez de Mercado and his wife, depositions derived from A. G. I., Sim., Sec., Aud. de S. Domingo, 54-5-9. He had accompanied Ybarra in 1604 to Guala, or the Port Royal region (relation in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de la Florida*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 169, 176, 182, 185), and had been at the Rio Jordan (Santee) in 1605, as appears from his report here summarized; see note 22, above.

⁵³ Maria de Miranda, wife of Juan d'Espinosa.

⁵⁴ The notion of a gold-mine at 44° 30' N. was probably based on Champlain's mention of copper-mines visited by him in 1603 near the present Minas Basin.

which is in 43 degrees;⁵⁵ and the said Captain Ecija went out from the port of San Agustin de la Florida to carry out this undertaking on June 26, 1609,⁵⁶ and went along reconnoitring and sounding all the ports and bays that he found along the coast, and having come to the river which they call Jordan⁵⁷ on July 8 he there obtained information from an Indian chieftain and others, and was told that at four days' journey, having traversed the plain of San Roman, they were at the settlement of the English in a village which is called Guandape,⁵⁸ lying beside a river which runs into the sea, and it is on an island surrounded by water, which on one side is joined to the mainland, and that ordinarily there are ships in that port, and three months ago seven departed from it, and six of them took the course to the north and the other to the south, and in the harbor there remained always some on guard, and every day many others came and went, up the coast to the northward, and that they had made a fort but that it was of wood, and they had made a league with the neighboring caciques, and that with eight of them they associated as friends, and they entertained them much and gave them clothes and tools and ordered them to sow grain, although the English themselves did not occupy themselves with this but with their fortification, and in the place where information was had of all this Captain Ecija rescued the Frenchman, called Juan Corbe, a native of Have de Gracia,⁵⁹ and with him they set sail, on July 15, pursuing their voyage, and on the 25th, having come to the Bay of Jacan (which by another name they call Virginia) he perceived a ship anchored in it, and since it was of much greater tonnage than that in which they were, for it carried two topsails and a great banner at its masthead, and since he had perceived that it desired to entrap them in the bay where it could be master, because it withdrew before them, they did not venture to follow it nor to close with it, so they went thence to 35½ degrees, whence, because of storms and because the season was advanced for those seas, they returned to the Jordan, and there they again sought information respecting the English, and the Indians confirmed what they had said before and added that alongside the wooden fort they had cast much stone into the water, mid-leg deep, and that they brought it in boats, and that there were many women and children who went about through the fields and houses of the neighboring Indians, and that from the Rio Jordan to the settlement by a straight path overland it was little more than fifty leagues, and to Sant Agustin de la Florida one hundred, so that from there to the place where the English are fortifying them-

In his *Des Sauvages*, already published in 1604 (p. 59 of Laverdière ed., *Oeuvres de Champlain*, II.) he locates the mine "par les 44 degrez et quelques minutes", though in reality the whole basin is well above 45°.

⁵⁵ Apparently Estevan Gomez's Rio de los Gamos; the Bay of Fundy. Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 187, 193.

⁵⁶ They embarked at St. Augustine, in the pinnace *La Asuncion de Christo*, after mass on Sunday, June 21, but passed the bar on June 26.

⁵⁷ Santee. The day before, they picked up an Indian Alonso whom Ecija had seen at the Jordan in 1605, and who could talk with Maria.

⁵⁸ Jamestown. Guandape was the name of the place where Ayllon attempted settlement in 1526. Shea, *Catholic Church*, I. 107.

⁵⁹ Havre de Grace.

selves it is 150 leagues;⁶⁰ and the Frenchman whom they rescued declared⁶¹ that from the Indians of the town in which he was kept captive, who frequently went and came to the settlement of the English, he had learned that they had built a wooden fort and a town made of the same and had two large ships with guns, guarding the fortlike castles, and two others as guards and sentinels of the bar, in addition to those that went and came, and that every year a ship came from England laden with provisions and munitions; and with this relation the governor Pedro de Yvarra sent a pilot-book of the voyage, which the said Captain Ecija caused to be made by the pilot that was with him,⁶² stating the sea-marks and the character of the harbors and bays that there are from Florida to the place to which they went, and the governor says in his letter that it appears to him that the plan the English entertain, as far as he has been able to learn, is to fortify themselves in the said bay of Jacan (the mouth of which is four leagues and more across, and a stone's throw off from its entrance you have twenty fathoms at least), and to make an expedition into the land, taking for that purpose sufficient people, until they shall come to Nueva Mexico, Nueva Galicia, and Vizcaya, and Cacatecas, which are in the same latitude, and to go across the land to the other sea at the west, since from that part of Florida great rivers go up into the land and from the other sea also it is known that others go up, not smaller, and that there is little distance from the one set of rivers to the other, and the enemy could go up through those of the east coast and go down through those of the west, and fortify themselves in the ports of that sea and there make ships and fleets and overrun the whole coast of New Spain, Tierra Firme, Peru, and China, to the great damage of the crown and subjects of Your Majesty, and that before more of the land is seized upon it would be expedient to manage to drive him from it, since as to the natives they do not deprive them of any of their religious ceremonies, which is what they most cherish, and at the same time they appease and entertain them, though with things of little value, and keep them very pleased and contented and are attaching them all to themselves, and on that northward coast they will be able to settle at the bar of Cayagua, which is a good position, seventy leagues from the garrison of Florida, in 33½ degrees,⁶³ to which they can come by land from their settlement, and there there are many Indians very well provided with the fruits of the earth and other supplies.

And having examined all this in the council (*junta*) for war, together with other papers which were brought to it incidentally, though of little credit, and seeing that Your Majesty, in response to a *consulta* of March 23 of this year⁶⁴ (to the effect that one should suspend the execution of the project which had been sent out by the council (*consejo*) of war to consider a reconnaissance of Virginia, and that this

⁶⁰ Nearly 200, in a straight line.

⁶¹ They could not begin questioning him till July 26, after they had left the Chesapeake, because he "had lost his French speech and spoke Indian and could not be understood".

⁶² See note 23, above.

⁶³ Charleston harbor. All Ecija's latitudes, in report and pilot-book, exceed the actual, by about the same amount.

⁶⁴ In A. G. I., 147-5-16.

should be in the hands of this council (*junta*) because it concerned it and was matter that had been introduced in it) commanded that that which had been resolved upon by the said council (*consejo*) of war should be done, and that if to this council any other thing occurred which ought to be prepared toward the carrying out of what is to be done it should be consulted, and considering the damages and great inconveniences which are to be expected from the neighborhood of these English and the anxiety to which they would put all the West Indies and their trade, especially if they plant in those regions the religion which they profess, our opinion has been that it would be greatly to the service of God and of Your Majesty and the universal good of your subjects to break up their plans at once, driving them from there before they take more root and possess themselves of more land and fortify themselves, have greater forces and extend through other regions, as they will go on to do, since none other is their design, and if this is not done in time it will afterward be very difficult.

But that it may be done successfully, because the information now possessed is not thought sufficient, it will be well to obtain certain and complete information of all there is in Virginia, and for this purpose in addition to the means which the council (*consejo*) of war has taken and ordered to be taken, another method is suggested, which is that if Your Majesty would be pleased to send two religious of the English Seminary,⁶⁵ that more satisfaction may be obtained, by their going to England and embarking on the first occasion that any ships are going from there to Virginia, and having informed themselves of the inhabitants, settlement, and fortifications, and the character and form of the harbor or harbors where they are fortifying themselves they should return to England in the same trading ships and from there to Spain, with greater and more complete knowledge of all that is possible, in order that, having obtained whatever information is necessary through both channels, a plan may be put into execution to go in sufficient forces to drive them away.

Don Diego Ybarra and Don Fernando Xiron, inasmuch as it is highly important that no time should be lost in a matter of such consequence, are of the opinion that while these measures are being taken we should proceed to bring together (giving out that they are for some other purpose of the service of Your Majesty) some four or five thousand men and the ships necessary for them, which should be good and proper for this purpose, with sailors experienced in that navigation, that, taking into view the experience, knowledge, and adaptedness that are suitable for such an enterprise, they should think to be sufficient forces to carry out what is desired; moreover that if the new information obtained should require that these forces should be larger they may be rapidly increased, so that, all being ready, the fleet may put to sea by the end of March of the coming year 1612, which is the season most suitable for the voyage they have to make, since when the summer begins contrary winds are customary in those seas, and so they would go at great hazard,

⁶⁵ There were at this time two seminaries in Spain for English Catholics, both under Jesuit management: that of Valladolid, established in 1589 and still in existence, and that of Seville, established in 1592. Each at this time had ten or twelve priests, and sent several each year to England. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII. xxvi, xxxv.

and at least the costs incurred would be wasted because they would not be able to have any good effect. Your Majesty will order inquiry and the providing of what is most pleasing to him. Madrid, May 5, 1611. (Six rubrics.)

II. DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN CLARK AND OTHERS, AT HAVANA, 1611.⁶⁶

Relacion de lo que rresulta de las declaraciones que hicieron en la havana el ingles que truxeron alli de la Virginia y el maestre y piloto y un marinero de la caravela que por horden de su magestad se despacho para descubrir lo que alla y las fuerzas que tienen los ingleses.

declaracion del ingles de la Virginia.

que se llama Juan clerg y es natural de londres piloto de hedad de 35 años y que es de la rreligion de su rrey, y por el mes de marco deste año salio del puerto de la dicha ciudad para la Virginia con tres navios el uno de 300 toneladas otro de ciento cinquenta y el otro de noventa, y que el viaje que hizieron fue por la dominica y las niebes donde hizieron aguada, y de alli rreconociendo a portorico tomaron su derrota al norte y la primera tierra que descubrieron fue doze leguas azia hueste del puerto de la Virginia, y que otras vezes no suelen yr a la dominica a hazer agua sino ban por 22 grados governando hazia el hueste Vesnurueste sin rreconozer tierra y tomar yslas de Varlovento, y que la costa es limpia y a 40 leguas corriendola por el sur deste al huessudueste tiene 60 brazas de fondo, a 30 leguas 50, y a veynte leguas 36 y a 10 leguas 18 y a 5 leguas 15 braças y 5 leguas para tierra la menos agua que ay es de 5 a 4 braças y en la propia voca de la vaya ay de 12 a 14 braças y a la banda del sur del puerto esta un baxio que no tiene mas de una braça a braza y media de agua y al norte del en la propia boca de la Vaya, arrimado al puerto ay 10 y 12 braças de agua y desde la una punta del puerto y la otra ay de 8 a 5 braças de agua y dentro buen surxidero para naos y abrigado de todos bientos y dentro de la propia baya ay cinco Rios que ban a diferentes partes y de los quatro dellos no tiene noticia de la manera que son.

que a la voca del dicho puerto en el un Rio ay quatro fortificaciones a la parte del norte todas en una rribera y que el primer fuerte esta a la boca del Rio donde asisten 50 personas entre hombres y mugeres que las 40 seran de tomar armas y que el fuerte es de estacas y madera sin piedra ni ladrillo y tiene siete piezas de artilleria, dos de a treynta y cinco quintales y los demas de a treinta, veinte y dies y ocho, y todas de yerro colado, y que el segundo fuerte esta de alli dos tercios de legua y otro a un tiro de mosquete y el quarto a otro tiro de mosquete con cada una pieza de fierro colado para defensa de los indios, y la poblacion principal donde ay otra fortificacion esta veinte leguas del primer fuerte el Rio arriva, y en ella ay 16 piezas y esta tanvien cerrado destacas y las casas de la poblacion son de madera y las piezas de hierro colado como las demas, y llegan navios de alto bordo asta la dicha poblacion.

que por donde menos en la canal del Rio ay tres brazas y media de agua mas que esto se muda con las abenidas algunas bezes, si bien lo que se diferencia con las crecientes y menguantes no pasa de media braça, y que 30 leguas mas arriba del pueblo, que es 50 de la voca del puerto, llegan las varcas.

⁶⁶ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

que por la Rivera no se puede caminar por tierra y que de lo ultimo del Rio hasta la mar del sur abra diez y seis o diez y ocho jornadas, segun lo avian entendido de los indios naturales, y que no sabe que se rrecojan en el dicho puerto y Rios piratas ni navios de ningunas partes y que en todas las poblaciones y fortificaciones abra cosa de mil personas, las seiscientas dellas para tomar armas y las demas mugeres, niños y viejos.

que no sabe que se tenga desde inglaterra mas trato que aver traydo alguna comida y vestidos y otras cosas para la gente que alli asiste, y en rretorno buelben cargados de madera para pipas y para navios y palo de salsafras, y que ansi mismo an traído cien bacas, docientos puercos, cien cabras, y diez y siete yeguas y cavallos, y que entiende ay alguna mina de oro que es la caussa porque su Rey da permission para que nabeguen de ynglaterra a aquellas partes, si bien hasta agora no avian hallado ninguna de oro ni plata aunque las avian buscado, ni los indios trayan nada desto, y nego aver confessado al maestre que se allavan pedacos de oro.

que aquella tierra a governado un hermano del conde nontonborlan, nombrado pèrse, que acavo su gobierno con la yda de un cavallero que se llama don thomas que fue en los tres navios en que hizo su viaje el declarante y que gobierna por orden del Rey de ynglaterra.

que Por agosto deste año esperaban quatro navios con alguna gente y cantidad de ganado a cargo de don thomas guies y que los que navegan a aquellas partes y se rrecojen alli es gente perdida que solian vivir de ser piratas.

que no a estado mas de una vez en la Virginia y que de presente avia alli seis navios, los tres que fueron con el y de los otros tres los dos fabricados en la bermuda, a donde arrivo con tenporal uno de inglaterra con mas de ciento y cinquenta personas y entre ellas algunos oficiales, y como llebavan fierro, brea y lo demas necesario, los fabricaron agora dos años el uno de setenta toneladas y el otro de 25, y que el ultimo de los dichos vaxeles hera una barca de cossa de doze a treze toneladas fabricado en la dicha Virginia, donde estaban haziendo una galera de veinte y cinco bancos, pero que no se acabaria tan presto, respeto de aver poco que se comenco y no tener la gente necesaria, y que abra cinco años que se començo a poblar aquella tierra y que todos los que ay y ban a ella son ingleses.

que los indios de la tierra estan algunas vezes de paz y otras de guerra y andan vestidos de cueros de benado y con sus arcos y flechas que son gusamar, y los frutos que tienen son maiz y nuez, y la tierra adentro ay muchos venados y los ganados que an llebado de inglaterra, y de lo que es pescados en ocasiones ay abundancia y otras vezes ay muy poco.

y acerca de la forma que le prendieron declaro que haviendo llegado al dicho puerto de la virginia una caravela fue azia tierra una barca della con algunos honbres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, dos españoles y un ingles, a quien este declarante conosció porque agora dos años le vio en la ciudad de malaga que servia de piloto en la armada de don luis faxardo, y que a todos tres los llebaron los soldados que salieron a la playa con el capitan de la fuerca, que se llama david, y comieron todos juntos, y luego le dixerón al declarante con otros tres o quatro se fuesse a mater la caravela en el puerto, y el vino a la chalupa y uno de

los marineros le metio en el batel, llebandole en hombros, y quando le bieron dentro no le dexaron salir y llebaron a bordo de la caravela, donde le tuvieron toda la noche, y a la mañana le volvieron a hechar en el varco juntamente con el maestre de la caravela y otra gente y se fueron azia tierra para ablar con los ingleses y pedirles sus tres hombres, como lo hizieron, diziendo que les darian por ellos al declarante, a que rrespondieron que asta que diesen quenta al governador de aquella tierra que estava en la poblacion no podian hazer nada, y viendo esto el maestre y gente de la caravela, temiendose de que no les hiziesen daño los navios que estavan en el puerto, sin querer esperar mas se fueron a la havana a donde le llebaron consigo.

declaracion del maestre, piloto y marinero.

que luego que salieron del puerto de la havana, que fue un dia despues de corpus christi, les dixo don diego de molina que llebava a su cargo la caravela que yban a buscar la artilleria de un navio que se havia perdido en la costa de la florida y que assi birasen para alla (como lo hizieron), y se fueron al puerto de san agustin de aquellas provincias, donde estuvieron con el governador cinco dias, y de alli salieron a los 15 o 16 de junio y tomaron su derrota corriendo la dicha costa y sondaron hasta llegar a 37 grados donde hallaron la vaya Grande, y alli dixo don diego de molina que hera la parte que yban a buscar, y que haviendo entrado y sondado la vaya hasta la mitad hallaron que a la entrada tenia 15 braças y despues de 10 hasta 4 y vieron que estava un navio surto junto a una punta donde havia una fuerça como trinchea, y cerca de alli fueron en una chalupa a tierra y saltaron en ella (con sendas escopetas) Don diego de molina y el alferes marco antonio perez y el piloto ingles confidente cassado en lixboa que llebavan, y al maestre declarante le hordenó Don diego que se hiziese a la mar con toda la gente y que no allegasen a tierra ni saltasen en ella en ninguna manera, sin que ellos les avisasen, y que estando a la mira de lo que subcedia bieron salir en tres o quatro tropas de una ensenada como 50 hombres ingleses flamencos a su parezer, y los prendieron y quitaron las armas y los llebaron a un fuerte, y de alli a una hora volbieron como 20 ingleses en tres quadrillas y llamaron al maestre declarante y le pidieron que se llegase a tierra, y el les dixo que le truxesen primero a su capitan, y los ingleses le rrespondieron que no hera posible, y estando en esto vinieron otros con el ingles confidente que havian prendido, y viendo que el maestre no queria llegar a tierra le dixerón que el le llamase, asegurandole no le harian daño y que antes seria rregalado, y aunque por cumplir con ellos lo hizo, assi con algunas señas y su senblante triste le dio a entender que estava preso y que assi se hiziese a fuera, y estando en esto hordenó a un marinero que se hechase a nado y saliese a tierra y procurase saver algo del capitan, al qual no le dejaron ablar con el ingles confidente, y luego vinieron otros ocho, y uno dellos dixo que queria hablar al maestre, y el marinero se encargo de llebarle en hombros (como lo hizo) y llegado que fueron a la caravela procuro Reduzir por vien al maestre a que llegase a tierra, y el no solo no quiso hazer esto, mas viendo que no le querian traer a su capitan y los otros dos sus compañeros, dio la buelta a la mar con el ingles y aunque se quiso echar de la caravela le detuvieron y le llebaron a la havana, y en el viaje le preguntaron algunas cosas y entre otras dixo que 100 leguas la tierra adentro havia una sierra de donde trayan pedaços de oro.

(Al parecer incompleta.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Relation of the result of the declarations made in Havana by the Englishman whom they brought thither from Virginia, and the master and pilot and a sailor of the caravel which by order of His Majesty was despatched to discover what was going on there and the forces which the English have.

Declaration of the Englishman from Virginia.

That he is called Juan Clerg and is a native of London, a pilot, thirty-five years of age, and that he is of the religion of his king, and in the month of March of this year sailed from the port of the said city for Virginia with three ships, the one of 300 tons, another of 150, and another of 90, and that the course they took was for Dominica and Niebes,⁶⁷ where they took in water, and from there, sighting Porto Rico, they took their course to the north, and the first land they discovered was twelve leagues to the west of the port of Virginia, and that at other times they are not accustomed to go to Dominica, to get water, but sail for 22 degrees, steering to the west [and] west-northwest without sighting land or making the Windward Islands, and that the coast is clear, and at forty leagues, running from the southeast to the west-southwest, there are sixty fathoms, at thirty leagues fifty, at twenty leagues thirty-six, at ten leagues eighteen, and at five leagues fifteen fathoms, and five leagues off the land the least water there is is from five to four fathoms, and in the mouth itself of the bay there are from twelve to fourteen fathoms, and along the south shore of the harbor is a shoal which has not more than one fathom to a fathom and a half of water, and on the north side of it, in the mouth itself of the bay alongside the harbor, there are ten or twelve fathoms of water, and from one point of the harbor to the other there are from eight to five fathoms of water, and within there is a good roadstead for ships, well sheltered from all winds, and within the bay itself there are five rivers, flowing in different directions, and of four of these he has no knowledge as to what kind they are.

That at the mouth of the said harbor, in one of these rivers, there are four fortifications on the north side, all on one bank, and that the first fort is at the mouth of the river,⁶⁸ where there are fifty persons settled, men and women, of whom forty are fit to bear arms, and that the fort is of palisades and timber, without stone or brick, and has seven pieces of artillery, two of them of about thirty-five hundredweight and the rest of thirty, twenty, and eighteen, and all cast-iron, and that the second fort is two-thirds of a league from there, and another at a distance of one musket-shot, and the fourth at another musket-shot, each having one cast-iron piece for defense against the Indians, and the principal settlement,⁶⁹ where there is another fortification, is twenty leagues up the river from the first fort, and in it there are sixteen pieces, and it is also surrounded by palisades, and the houses of the settlement are

⁶⁷ Nevis. Clark sailed with Sir Thomas Dale, who left the Land's End March 17, 1611, and arrived at Point Comfort May 12; see his letter of May 25 in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 489-494.

⁶⁸ Algernon Fort, at Point Comfort. Of those next mentioned, two were "the two Princes Forts at Kecoughtan" (Forts Henry and Charles at Hampton); Dale, in Brown, I. 503.

⁶⁹ Jamestown.

all wood and the cannon of cast-iron like the rest, and ships of deep draft go up to the said settlement.

That where there is least water in the channel of the river there are three fathoms and one half of water, but that this changes sometimes with the freshes, although the difference between flood and ebb is not more than half a fathom, and that barges go thirty leagues farther up from the town, that is, fifty from the mouth of the harbor.

That it is not possible to journey by land along the river bank, and that from the uppermost part of the river to the South Sea would be sixteen or eighteen days' journey, as they have understood from the native Indians, and that he does not know that pirates or ships from any region gather in the said port and river, and that in all the settlements and fortifications there are about 1000 persons, 600 of them fit to bear arms and the rest women, boys, and old men.⁷⁰

That he does not know that there is any further trade with England than that some provisions and clothing and other things have been brought for the people that are settled there, and on the return voyage they go back laden with wood for hogsheads and for ships, and sassafras wood, and that also they have brought over 100 cows, 200 pigs, 100 goats, and 17 mares and horses, and that he understands that there is a certain gold-mine which is the cause why his king gives permission to sail from England to those parts, although up to the present time they have not found any gold or silver, though they have sought for it, nor do the Indians bring any of it, and he denied that he had confessed to the master that pieces of gold were found.

That that land has been governed by a brother of the Conde Nontonborlan, named Perse,⁷¹ who brought his government to an end at the coming of a knight who is called Don Tomas, who was in the three ships in which the deponent made his voyage, and who governs by the order of the king of England.

That in August of this year they expect four ships with some people and a quantity of cattle, under command of Don Tomas Guies,⁷² and that those who sail to these regions and gather there are abandoned people, who are accustomed to live by piracy.

That he has been only once in Virginia, and that at present there were six ships there, and the three that went with him, and of the other three, two were made in Bermuda, where one from England came ashore in a storm, with more than 150 persons, and among them some officials,⁷³ and taking the iron, pitch, and what else was necessary, they

⁷⁰ This is probably somewhat exaggerated. De la Warr says he left "upwards of two hundred" men there, Purchas, IV. 1763; the *Hercules* had brought some, Brown, I. 439, 441; Dale had brought 300, *ibid.*, I. 453, 506.

⁷¹ George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, was president of the council ruling in Virginia from the departure of Captain John Smith, in October, 1609, to the arrival, not of Sir Thomas Dale, as Clark seems to say, but of Sir Thomas Gates, May 23, 1610. Neill, *Virginia Company*, pp. 32, 34. In the parallel passage in Brown, I. 520, Professor Schele de Vere translates *nombrado perse*, "appointed for himself", instead of "named Percy"!

⁷² Gates. He arrived in August.

⁷³ Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, wrecked in the *Sea Venture*, July 28, 1609.

made them two years ago, the one of seventy tons and the other of twenty-five,⁷⁴ and that the last of the said vessels was a barge of about twelve or thirteen tons, made in the said Virginia, where they were also making a galley of twenty-five benches, but that it would not be finished very soon, because of having little that is prepared and not having the necessary men, and that it is five years since they began to settle that land, and that all those who are there or go to it are English.

That the Indians of that land are sometimes at peace and other times at war, and go clothed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which are *gusamar* [?],⁷⁵ and that the produce they gather is maize and walnuts, and up in the land there are many deer and the cattle that they have taken from England, and as to fisheries at times there is abundance and at others very little.

And as to the manner in which they took him, he declares that a caravel having come to the said harbor of Virginia a boat came ashore from it with some men, of whom three landed, two Spaniards and an Englishman, the last of whom this deponent knew, because two years ago he saw him in the city of Malaga serving as a pilot in the armada of Don Luis Faxardo,⁷⁶ and that the soldiers who went down to the shore with the captain of the fort who is called David,⁷⁷ took all three, and they all ate together, and then they ordered the deponent with three or four others to go and bring the caravel into the port, and he went to the shallop, and one of the mariners put him into the boat, carrying him on his shoulders, and when they saw him in it they would not let him go, but carried him on board the caravel, where they kept him all night, and in the morning they set him in a boat together with the master of the caravel and other men and went to the land to speak with the English and to ask them for their three men, which they did, saying that they would give them the deponent in return for these, to which they replied that until they should have given account to the governor of that land, who was at the settlement, they could not do anything, and the master and the people of the caravel, seeing this, feared that the ships which were in the port might do them some harm, and being unwilling to wait longer went away to Havana taking him with them.

Declaration of the master, pilot, and mariner.

That when they sailed from the port of Havana, which was one day after Corpus Christi,⁷⁸ Don Diego de Molina, who had command of the

⁷⁴ The *Deliverance* and the *Patience*, whose building is fully narrated in William Strachey's "True Reportory", Purchas, IV. 1734-1756; the two next mentioned were the *Discovery* and the *Virginia*, Brown, I. 406.

⁷⁵ The editor has not found this word in any dictionary. George Percy, in his "Observations", says, "Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially." Purchas, IV. 1688-1689. But possibly the reading may be *sus armas*, "their arms".

⁷⁶ Captain-general of the ocean fleet, who in 1609 sailed with a great fleet against the Barbary corsairs and burned twenty-two of their ships in the harbor of Tunis. Duro, *La Armada Española*, III. 324.

⁷⁷ Captain James Davis.

⁷⁸ June 3, 1611. Pereda says June 2.

caravel, told them that they were going to seek the artillery of a ship which had been lost on the coast of Florida, and that they should sail in that direction, which they did, and came to the port of San Agustín of those provinces, where they remained with the governor five days, and from there they sailed on the 15th or 16th of June and took their course up along the said coast, sounding, until they came to 37 degrees, where they found a great bay, and that Don Diego de Molina said that this was the place which they were to seek, and that having entered and sounded the bay up to the middle of it they found that at the entrance it has fifteen fathoms and then from ten to four, and that they saw that there was a ship anchored⁷⁹ near a point where there was a fort like an intrenchment, and near it they went ashore in a shallop, and Don Diego de Molina and the ensign Marco Antonio Perez and the English pilot they had taken with them, a spy (*confidente*) married in Lisbon, jumped ashore, having their muskets, and Don Diego ordered the master, this deponent, to put to sea with all the people, and that they should not come to land nor disembark in any manner unless they should so signal to them, and that being in sight of what went on they saw some fifty men, English or Flemish as it appeared to them, come out in three or four squads from a cove, and they seized them and took away their arms and took them to a fort, and an hour later twenty Englishmen returned in three squads and called to the master, this deponent, and requested him to come to land, and he said to them to first bring back his captain, and the English replied that it was not possible, and while this was going on others came with the English spy whom they had taken, and seeing that the master would not come to land they told the latter that he should call him, assuring him that they would not do him damage, but that he should be regaled, but that although to comply with their orders he did it, yet by some signs and by his sad countenance he gave him to understand that he was taken prisoner, and that consequently he should go away and thereupon [this deponent] ordered a sailor to swim ashore and try to learn something concerning the captain, but they would not let him speak with the English spy, and then eight others came, and one of them said he wished to speak to the master, and the sailor undertook to carry him out upon his shoulders, and did so, and when they had come to the caravel he tried to persuade the master to come to land, and he not only would not do it but, seeing that they would not bring back his captain and the other two companions, he put out to sea with the Englishman, and although the latter tried to escape from the caravel they detained him and brought him to Havana, and on the voyage they asked him certain things, and among other things he said that a hundred leagues up into the land there was a mountain from which they obtained pieces of gold.

(Apparently incomplete.)

III. EXAMINATION OF JOHN CLARK, AT MADRID, FEBRUARY 18, 1613.⁸⁰

confesion del Piloto yngles de la virginia.

En la Villa de madrid A diez y ocho dias del mes de hebrero de mill y seis cientos y trece años, el señor licenciado don francisco de texada del qonsejo real de las yndias de su magestad y de su junta de guerra de

⁷⁹ The *Prosperous* or the *Elizabeth*. Brown, I. 497.

⁸⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17.

yndias, para algunos efectos tocantes al servicio de su magestad, hizo traer ante si a un hombre yngles de nacion que estava en poder del capitán don Alonso flores por orden de la dicha junta de guerra, del qual en presencia de mi el presente escribano su merced tomo y recibió del juramento en forma de derecho y el le hizo bien y cumplidamente y habiendo jurado se le hicieron las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama, dixo que se llama Juan clarque.

preguntado de donde es Vezino y natural, dixo que es vezino de la ciudad de londres en ynglaterra.

preguntado si es catholico romano, dixo que si.

Preguntado que oficio y profesion tiene, dixo que piloto y que a quatro años que usa este oficio aunque antes trataba de saberlo porque a quatro años que navega en diferentes partes del mundo.

Preguntado quando hizo biaje a la Virginia y con quien y para que efectos y como della fue traído a la ciudad de la havana, Dixo que el año pasado de seis cientos y once a los primeros de marzo partio del puerto de londres en un navio de trescientas Toneladas en que yba por piloto con otros dos navios, el uno de ciento y cinquenta y el otro de noventa toneladas, en que yban trescientos hombres de guerra fuera de los marineros y seis cientos barriles de harina y cinquenta de polvora y algunas caxas de arcabuzes, todo despachado por quenta De los mercaderes de londres para la Virginia, de que yba por general don Tomas diel que avia de avedar, como quedo, por governador de la Virginia; y tardaron en el viaxe dos meses y medio, y la derrota que llevaron fue desde ynglaterra fueron navegando al sudueste hasta ponerse en la altura de las yslas de canaria, que fue en veinte y ocho grados, y desde alli navegaron al oeste sudueste hasta la altura de la dominica en catorze grados y medio, donde hizieron agua y se detuvieron dos dias, y de alli navegaron al nor norueste a la isla de las niebes, donde estuvieron quatro dias refrescando la gente, por llevar algunos enfermos, y desde alli al norueste quarto al norte al Pasaxe, por donde embocaron hasta que rreconocieron la costa de la Virginia entre el cavo del engaño y cavo Enrrique, y que la causa de gobernar al norueste quarta al norte y al nor norueste algunas vezes era por causa de las corrientes que les hechava al nordeste y la bariacion de la aguxa que le davan de resguardo de siete a ocho grados, y de alli navegaron al nor norueste hasta estar sobre el cavo Enrrique, que es una de las puntas por donde se entra a la baya, donde entraron y pasaron a surgir dentro del Rio en una punta que en yngles llaman Punt Confort, que en castellano quiere dezir punta de consolacion. y alli hecharon la gente en tierra, y los marineros llevaron los tres navios por el Rio arriva hasta el lugar principal que llaman Jacobus, a donde dieron fondo, porque no pueden pasar adelante Navios del dicho porte, aunque navios de quarenta o cinquenta toneladas que demanden dos baras y media de agua pueden pasar treinta leguas adelante, y que estando este que declara en compañía de los yngleses porque avia benido del lugar principal a traer un barco con arina, de la que traya en los navios, para la provision de los yngleses que estan en guarda de los fuertes que estan en la Punta de consolazion, llego una falua en que benian doce a trece hombres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, y habiendo salido a ellos el capitán del fuerte con una esquadra de soldados Pregunto a los tres hombres, que el uno conocio este que declara que era yngles y piloto, Por averle visto en una casa quando

don luis faxardo fue a quemar los galeones de Tunez, que a que benian alli; y respondieron que a buscar un navio del Rey de españa que se avia perdido en aquella Costa, y el capitan le dixo que tenia necesidad de dar quenta a su governador de su llegada, que estava en el lugar principal llamado Jacobus, veinte leguas de alli, y assi lo hiço en un barco, y dixo a uno de los tres que porque no se perdiere la caravela en la baya a donde avia dado fondo la metiesen dentro del Rio y punta de consolacion donde estaria segura; y aviendole respondido que quien quedava En ella no sabia hazerlo y que le diesen Piloto para ello, ordeno El capitan a este que declara que, en la misma falua en que avian benido los tres, fuesen a meter en la dicha caravela, y assi lo hiço, y llegando a ella dixo el maestre que no queria entrar sino volvian por ella los que faltavan, y no queriendolos dar, aunque otro dia bolvio la falua por ellos, partio la dicha caravela sin esperar mas, con este que declara, a la havana, quedando los tres en poder de los yngleses.

Preguntado que surgideros y de que calidad y que fuertes y quales ay desde la baya hasta la dicha çiudad de Jacobus, dixo que la baya es grande de siete u ocho leguas de ancho y fondable, aunque no tienen seguridad los navios ni avrigo en ella Y assi entran hasta avrigarsese detras de la punta de consolacion, como el lo hiço, a donde cavan Treinta navios ancorados de hasta ocho cientos toneladas, porque aunque quando corre norte se siente dentro alguna mar no es cosa de mucha consideracion; y que En esta misma punta ay un fuerte a la mar, a donde estan plantadas siete pieças de artilleria de a treinta quintales, cada una muy a la lengua del agua, de manera que Por ser la entrada angosta, que no tiene mas de un tiro de escopeta fondable, no pueden entrar ni estar los navios dado fondo sin que les haga daño la artilleria, y en este fuerte estan cinquenta soldados de ordinario Presidio, y dos quartos de legua del ay otros dos forteçuelos con una pieça de artilleria cada uno de a diez a doze quintales para guardar los sembrados de los yndios, y que estos fuertes y el primero de la punta son fortificados de estacas gruesas muy juntas.

preguntado que tantas casas avia en el dicho lugar llamado Jacobus y de que calidad y que gente de guerra y que artilleria, dixo que abra çient cassas de madera, y en ellas y en las otras partes que a dicho hasta mil hombres de guerra, entre mercaderes y soldados y labradores, y treinta mugeres, y que el lugar esta fortificado de estacas en la forma dicha y tendra como diez y seis pieças de artilleria, las diez gruesas y las otras menores, las gruesas de a quarenta a cinquenta quintales y las otras de a diez y seis y a diez y siete, y que no save que aya otra poblacion fuera desta, y que de los yndios que algunos ay amigos y otros no lo son, y que le parece que de los unos y de los otros no ay mucha cantidad; y que lo que asta agora a Visto llevar de aquella parte a ynglaterra por mercaduria es madera para labrar diferentes cosas y salsa frasi, y lo que traen de ynglaterra son mantenimientos de arinas y otras cosas y municiones y ganados diferentes que se dan bien.

Preguntado si save que se ayan allado algunas minas de plata, dixo que no lo save.

preguntado si save las causas porque an poblado aquella tierra los yngleses y de quanto tienpo a esta parte, dixo que entiende que la an poblado de seis años a esta parte, y que las causas son yr ganando la tierra y fabricar navios y que no save ell efecto para que que estan en

paraxe que en quinze dias a lo mas largo se pueden poner en las yslas de barlovento.

Preguntado quanto se tardara de vuelta de la Virginia a ynglaterra, dixo que un mes y que a entendido que es el Viaxe bueno y que navegan al este quarta al nordeste hasta rreconocer las yslas de flores algunas beces, y que pueden no rreconocerlas hasta llegar a ynglaterra aunque es mexor y mas segura navegacion rreconocer las yslas, y que para españa navegando al este rreconoceran las yslas del fayal o la tercera de adonde se toma la derrota ordinaria.

Preguntado quantas beces a estado en la Birginia y que tanto tienpo y que navios allo alli en el en que estuvo, dixo que no a hecho mas viaxe del que tiene dicho y que estuvo quarenta dias hasta que fue presso y que allo un navio de partida para ynglaterra con madera y salsa frasi de çiento y cinquenta toneladas.

preguntado que entiende habran hecho los yngleses de las tres personas que quedaron en su poder, dize que tiene por çierto que no les habran tratado mal, porque los yngleses no tratan mal a los prisioneros.

preguntado si save despues que esta en esta qorte alguna nueva dellos, dixo que un yngles que vive en la calle mayor desta villa le dixo a este que declara que un conoçido suyo le dixo que avia ablado en ynglaterra con el piloto yngles que yba con don diego de molina y era uno de los tres que quedaron en la Virginia.

Preguntado que hedad tiene, dixo que es de hedad de quarenta años. y lo firmo de su nombre y que lo que tiene dicho En este su dicho y declaracion es la verdad, so cargo del dicho Juramento que hecho tiene. y lo rrubrico Su merced. ba testado una quarta y me, ut, se fueron, a donde. (Rubrica.)

JOHN CLARK.

fui presente DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA. (Rubricado.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Confession of the English Pilot of Virginia.

In the city of Madrid on the 18th day of the month of February of 1613 the Señor Licenciado Don Francisco de Texada, of His Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies and of his council for war in the Indies,⁸¹ for certain purposes touching the service of His Majesty caused to be brought before him a man, English by nation, who was in the custody of Captain Don Alonso Flores by order of the said war-council, and in the presence of me the present scribe his Worship took and received this man's oath in form of law, and he gave it well and completely, and having been sworn the following questions were asked him.

Being asked how he was called, he said that he is called Juan Clarke.

Being asked of what place he was an inhabitant and native, he said that he is an inhabitant of the city of London in England.

Being asked if he is a Roman Catholic, he said yes.

Being asked what office and profession he has, he said a pilot and that for four years he has followed that office, though before this he was in a way of knowing it, because for four years he had sailed in different parts of the world.

Being asked when he made the voyage to Virginia and with whom

⁸¹ See the list inserted in the heading of document no. I.

and for what purposes and how he was brought to the city of Havana, he said that in the previous year of 1611 at the beginning of March he set sail from the port of London in a ship of 300 tons in which he went as pilot, together with two other ships, the one of 150 tons and the other of 90, in which went 300 men of war in addition to the mariners and 600 barrels of flour and 50 of powder and some boxes of arquebusses, the whole despatched on account of the merchants of London for Virginia, as general of which went Don Thomas Diel,⁸² who was to live there, as in fact he remained, as governor of Virginia; and they spent upon that voyage two months and one half, and the course they took was that from England they were sailing to the southwest until they came into the latitude of the Canary Islands, which was at 28 degrees, and from there they sailed west-southwest to the latitude of Dominica in 14½ degrees, where they took in water and stayed two days, and from there they sailed north-northwest to the island of Niebes,⁸³ where they remained four days refreshing the people, because they had some men sick, and from there northwest-quarter-north to the Passage,⁸⁴ up which they went until they made the coast of Virginia between the Cape of Deception⁸⁵ and Cape Henry and that the reason for steering northwest-quarter-north and north-northwest several times was because of the currents which pushed them to the northeast and the variation of the needle which they warned him to be 7 and 8 degrees, and from there they sailed north-northwest until they were off Cape Henry, which is one of the capes between which one enters into the bay, into which they entered, and proceeded to go up within the river to a point which in English they call Punt Comfort, which in Castilian means Point of Consolation; and there they put the people ashore, and the mariners took the three ships up the river to the principal place, which they call Jacobus,⁸⁶ where they anchored, because the ships could not go up beyond the said port, though ships of 40 or 50 tons, which draw two yards and one half of water, can go up 30 leagues, and that this deponent being in company with the English, because he had come from that principal place to bring a barge with flour of that which he brought in the ships, for the provision of the English who garrison the forts at Point Comfort, there came a long-boat in which were twelve or thirteen men, of whom three landed, and the captain of the fort having gone to them with a squad of soldiers asked the three men (one of whom this deponent knew, that he was an Englishman and a pilot, because of having seen him in a house when Don Luis Faxardo went to burn the galleons of Tunis)⁸⁷ why they came there and they replied, to seek a ship of the king of Spain which had been lost on that coast, and the captain told him that he would have to give account to his governor of their coming, who was then at the principal place, called Jacobus, twenty leagues from there, and so he did in a barge. And he said to one of the three that in order that the caravel should not be lost in the bay where it had anchored, they should bring it up into the river and to

⁸² Dale.

⁸³ Nevis.

⁸⁴ The Bahama Channel.

⁸⁵ Not False Cape, but Cape Hatteras.

⁸⁶ James [Town].

⁸⁷ See note 76, above.

Point Comfort, where it would be safe, and he having replied that whoever was left in her would not know how to do it and that they should give him a pilot for that purpose, the captain ordered this deponent to take the same long-boat in which the three had come and go on board the said caravel, and so he did, and on his coming to her the master said that he would not sail in unless they brought back to her those who were missing and as [the English captain] would not give them up, though on another day the long-boat returned for them, the said caravel, without waiting longer, sailed away with this deponent to Havana, leaving the three in the power of the English.

Being asked what roadsteads and of what quality and what forts and of what sort there are from the bay up to the said city of Jacobus, he said that the bay is seven or eight leagues wide and with good soundings, although ships have not security or shelter in it, and so go in until they shelter themselves behind Point Comfort, as he did, where there is room for thirty ships up to 800 tons to anchor, for although when the wind is north some sea is felt in there, it is not a matter of much importance; and on that same point there is a fort beside the shore where seven pieces of artillery are mounted, each of about thirty hundredweight, placed alongside the water in such a way that, since the entrance is narrow and the channel is not more than a musket-shot broad, ships cannot enter or anchor without the artillery doing them damage, and in that fort there are fifty soldiers of ordinary garrison, and half a league from it there are two other small fortifications each having one piece of artillery of ten or twelve hundredweight, to guard the corn-fields from the Indians, and that these forts and the first one, on the point, are fortified with stout palisades well joined together.

Being asked how many houses there were in the said place called Jacobus and of what sort and what soldiers and what artillery, he said that there are about 100 wooden houses and in them and in the other places that he has mentioned about a thousand men capable of bearing arms, what with traders and soldiers and laborers, and thirty women, and that the place is fortified with palisades in the form mentioned⁸⁸ and probably has about sixteen pieces of artillery, ten heavy and the other smaller, the heavy pieces of about forty or fifty hundredweight, and the others of about sixteen or seventeen, and that he does not know that there is any other settlement besides that, and that of the Indians some are friendly and some are not, and that it appears to him that there is no great number of either sort; and that what up to the present time he has seen taken from that region to England by way of merchandise is timber for making different things, and sassafras, and what they bring from England are provisions of flour and other things and munitions and cattle of different sorts, which do well.

Being asked if he knows that they have found any mines of silver he said that he does not know.

Being asked if he knows the reasons why the English have settled that country and for how long at that place, he said that he understands

⁸⁸ Smith describes it as "invironed with a palizado of foureteene or fiteene foot, and each [i.e., each stake] as much as three or foure men could carrie". *Generall Historie*, p. 165. Strachey, who describes the fort in detail, says that it is "inclosed round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, etc." Purchas, IV. 1753.

that they have been settled at that place for six years and that the reasons are to acquire land and build ships and that he does not know the result, beyond the fact that they are in such a situation that in fifteen days at most they can reach the Windward Islands.

Being asked how long it takes to sail from Virginia to England, he said a month, and that he has understood that the voyage is good, and that sometimes they sail east-quarter-northeast until they make the islands of Flores,⁸⁹ but that it is possible for them not to make them on their way to England, though it is better and safer navigation to make the islands, and that for Spain, sailing east, they make the islands of Fayal or Tercera, whence the ordinary course is taken.

Being asked how many times he has been in Virginia, and for how long, and what ships he found there [beside] that in which he was, he said that he has made no other voyage than that which he has mentioned, and that he was there forty days before he was taken,⁹⁰ and that he found there a ship of 150 tons about to sail for England with timber and sassafras.

Being asked what he believes the English will have done to the three persons who were left in their power, he says that he considers it certain that they will not be ill-treated, because the English do not ill-treat prisoners.

Being asked if he has learned subsequently that there is in this court any news respecting them, he said that an Englishman who lives in the Calle Mayor of this town told this deponent that an acquaintance of his told him that he had talked in England with the English pilot who went with Don Diego Molina, and he was one of the three who was left in Virginia.⁹¹

Being asked his age, he said that he was forty years old. And he signed this with his name and declared that what he has said in this his answer and declaration is the truth, under obligation of the said oath which he has taken. And his Worship has added his rubric.⁹² (Rubric.)

JOHN CLARK.

I, DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA, was present. (Rubric).

⁸⁹ The northwesternmost of the Azores; Fayal and Terceira lie to the south-east.

⁹⁰ He arrived May 12; forty days would bring the date to June 21.

⁹¹ This was a mistake. Lymbry never reached England. See note 27, above.

⁹² The concluding sentence of the Spanish text is merely a scrupulous enumeration, by the scribe, of words he had written and then erased.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma. By HENRY ADAMS.
With an Introduction by BROOKS ADAMS. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 317. \$2.50.)

THE reader will not find anything in this volume from the pen of Henry Adams bearing the title "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma". He will find the brief letter to H. B. Adams, written in December, 1894, to serve in lieu of a presidential address before the American Historical Association, already published in the *Reports* of the Association; the *Letter to American Teachers of History*, privately printed in 1910; and an essay entitled "The Rule of Phase applied to History", now printed for the first time. These three papers, together making 186 pages, possess a certain unity, since they all deal with the conflict, serious and important as Adams thought, between the conclusions of science and the assumptions of historians in respect to the future of man and the world. To these three papers, the editor, Brooks Adams, has contributed an introduction of 125 pages, under the caption of "The Heritage of Henry Adams."; and to the entire volume he has given the title *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*.

The title seems ill suited to the papers that make the substance of the volume; but one gathers from the introduction why it was adopted. In the introduction the editor does not concern himself with a criticism of his brother's essays, which he has "long thought unanswerable"; he attempts rather to "tell the story of a movement in thought which has, for the last half century, been developing" in his family. This movement in thought starts with John Quincy Adams, whose life-work was founded on the belief in God and in democracy. To-day, whatever may have happened to the belief in God, the tendency is still "very strong throughout the world to deify the democratic dogma, and to look to democracy to accomplish pretty promptly some approach to a millennium among men". But in the Adams family the belief that democracy, with whatever aid from science, can bring in any millennium, has gradually vanished. How it weakened and disappeared is what Brooks Adams tells us in the introduction. Even John Quincy Adams, whose confidence in the value of science was conditioned on his belief in God, died "declaring that God had abandoned him". With God gone, Henry and Brooks, inheriting their grandfather's faith in science, at last came to realize that science taught that neither the world, nor "man as a part of the world, has been evolved in obedience to any single power which

might be called a unified creator". On the contrary, science teaches complexity rather than unity, and a degradation rather than a raising of vital energy. Hence, democracy must partake of the "complexity of its infinitely complex creator, and ultimately end in chaos". The degradation of the democratic dogma which is here in question is thus far from being a general movement of thought; it is a movement within the Adams family, exemplified chiefly in Brooks and Henry.

The three essays of Henry Adams, of which the introduction gives us the genesis, form a valuable supplement to the *Education of Henry Adams*, in so far as that book deals with his effort to formulate for himself an intelligible philosophy of history. The problem which confronted him is stated at length in the *Letter to American Teachers of History*. Science teaches that the universe, in its material and vital processes, is but the expression of an energy, force, will—call it what you like—which, in doing work, is always dissipated, and which must therefore, finally—in some millions of years—be altogether exhausted; the conclusion of which is that humanity is assured of an ever onward and downward movement toward the final equilibrium of death and extinction. Historians, on the other hand, like politicians, teach, or at least assume, an endless "progress" or "evolution" toward a more perfect, or at all events a better "fitted", society. According to Adams, this notion is an illusion; and he wished to impress upon historians the necessity of squaring their account with the conclusions of science. "If the entire universe, in every variety of active energy, organic and inorganic, human and divine, is to be treated as a clock-work that is running down, society can hardly go on ignoring the fact forever." He felt strongly, therefore, that historians should deal with their subject on the basis of assumptions, and by methods, that scientists could recognize as valid. The new essay on "The Rule of Phase Applied to History" is a tentative effort to suggest such assumptions and such methods, an attempt to treat the vital energies that find expression in European history in terms of the Rule of Phase as the physicists understand it.

No extended criticism of Henry Adams's proposed solution of this old riddle can be undertaken in a brief review; but it may be well to suggest that such a criticism would raise at least two questions. The first is this: How does it happen that a mind so critical of all religious and political dogmas could have accepted so readily, so naively, the dogmas of natural science? In the eighteenth century men confidently expected that science would reveal for them the secrets of the universe and read the riddle of human life. This was evidently still the hope of John Quincy Adams. At a later day men like Huxley once more proclaimed the scientific evangel. But in recent years professional scientists have generally been more and more disposed to leave sweeping generalizations to laymen. "Science", says Lloyd Morgan,¹ "deals ex-

¹ *The Interpretation of Nature*, p. 58.

clusively with changes of configuration, and traces the accelerations which are observed to occur, leaving to metaphysics to deal with the underlying agency, if it exist." The truth is that Henry Adams was by no means content with "science" as Lloyd Morgan defines it. True to his Puritan traditions, he was bound to seek and to find this "underlying agency"; and having lost the God of his fathers, he constructed a new one out of "lines of force". His quarrel with historians is that they will not bow down and worship this new God, not of science, but of Henry Adams.

And this leads to the second question: Are not historians, in their dealing with human activities, more "scientific" than they would be if they adopted the attitude of Henry Adams? It is a pure assumption on his part that historians teach, or assume, a philosophy of progress. So far as my experience goes, most of them neither teach nor assume such a philosophy. No doubt there are exceptions. Last spring, sitting in a committee appointed to formulate a new history curriculum for schools, I listened to a young man describing with great enthusiasm a proposed new course designed to show the onward and upward progress of democracy—up to and including May 30, 1919. While he was expounding, my eye fell upon the cover of the *Current History* for that very month, and there I read the following words: "Seething Caldron in Europe—Revolution—Civil War—Disorders—Anarchy!" I wondered if I was expected to teach the progress of democracy onward and upward to the Seething Caldron. I decided I wouldn't. On the other hand, when I am invited to "treat the history of modern Europe and America as a typical example of energies undergoing degradation with a headlong rapidity towards inevitable death", I equally decline to teach that. I am content to follow the more modest plan of Lloyd Morgan, to regard the history of modern Europe as a series of "changes in configuration", and to attempt to understand, not in terms of physics, but in terms of human needs, purposes, and acts, how these changes of configuration came about, leaving it to metaphysicians like Henry Adams to deal with the underlying agency, if it exist, and to determine, if they can, whether we are headed for the ash-heap or the millennium. The ash-heap, even on Henry Adams's calculation, is some millions of years distant; and there is good reason to think that the millennium, if that is to be our fate, is still sufficiently remote not to call for immediate preparation on our part. Whatever its ultimate end or its absolute value may be, and whether we know the ultimate end and the absolute value or whether we know them not, human life will remain essentially what it has been, and will have the same finite and human values and meaning. It is the function of history, as I understand it, to deal with this meaning and these values as they are revealed in the thought and acts of men.

CARL BECKER.

Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Liturgische und Archäologische Studien.

VON HANS LIETZMANN. (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber. 1915. Pp. xii, 189. M. 8.15.)

As the author of this book remarks, the progress of investigation into the tradition of Peter and Paul in Rome has been hindered by the persistent ecclesiastical interests dominating it. For many years Protestants could scarcely rid themselves of the desire to prove that Peter was never in Rome, or Catholics of the temptation to overemphasize all evidence that he was. Of recent years, however, there has been a welcome tendency to more objective treatment, and the present book represents a notable step in this direction.

The evidence connecting Peter with Rome is to be found in the early calendar of the Church, in liturgical commemorations, and in the local tradition that he was buried in the Vatican. The literary testimony is late and of slight value. The evidence connecting Paul with Rome is much stronger from the literary point of view, less marked in the liturgy, and equally strong in local tradition. Professor Lietzmann investigates all the evidence and reaches the conclusion that there is reasonable probability for the belief that the sites now indicated in Rome as the tombs of the apostles, in the Vatican and in St. Paul's outside the Walls respectively, really represent the places where the apostles were put to death.

There are in the Roman calendar three dates connected with Peter—January 18, February 22, and June 29. January 18 and February 22 are traditionally the dates of Peter's installation as bishop at Antioch and at Rome respectively. The earliest record, however—the calendar of Filocalus—only mentions February 22 and does not discriminate between Rome and Antioch. A consideration of this calendar as a whole has persuaded Professor Lietzmann that it represents an attempt, made probably at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, to establish the dates and to observe liturgically the memory of the bishops of Rome. He thinks that this date, February 22, has therefore no value for establishing the tradition of Peter's presence in Rome and accepts the view that it was chosen in order to Christianize the heathen Caristia. The other date, January 18, is of later origin and originally represents an attempt to have a feast which was not usually in Lent. The presence of both dates in later calendars is merely a doublet.

If January 18 and February 22 prove valueless for the investigation of the earliest tradition, the case is different with June 29. The earliest document recording this date is the calendar of Filocalus. This is, unfortunately, obviously corrupt, but Lietzmann thinks that it can be shown that it refers to the removal of the bodies of Peter and Paul to the catacombs from their original resting-places on the Vatican and by the Via Ostiensis in the year 258 to avoid the possibility of interference in the persecution which was beginning. This accounts for the fact that Filo-

calus and other early authorities connect the feast of the apostles in the catacombs with the consulate of Tuscus and Bassus who belong to the year 258 and not to the time of Nero.

At this stage archaeological research in the catacombs has recently added to our information. Investigation into the church of St. Sebastian in the catacombs has given convincing proof that it was connected at one time with the tomb of the two apostles. Why then were they separated and taken later to the Vatican and to a remote spot outside the walls? Lietzmann is surely right in answering that this must be because these sites were known as the actual places of martyrdom. He gives a most ingenious and convincing argument in support of this view. Both in the case of the ancient church of St. Peter and of that of St. Paul he is able to show that the architecture of the church implies that the tomb in each case existed first, and that the church was built round it.

In general the writer must be thanked for a new and most interesting contribution to science. Its value is increased, though the facility with which it can be used is lessened, by the number of secondary problems which he investigates. Among these may be mentioned the earliest form of the Roman liturgy and the Roman celebration of Christmas and Epiphany. Both of these subjects merit reviews of their own, which are forbidden only by considerations of space and the fact that they are, after all, secondary to the main topic of the work under consideration.

K. LAKE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century. By GEORGE O'BRIEN, Litt.D. (Dublin and London: Maunsell and Company. 1919. Pp. 283. 10 sh. 6 d.)

THERE are three ways to write a history of Ireland. There is the way of Froude—not to pay any attention to the facts at all; there is the way of Mr. Bagwell—to confine one's self entirely to the facts; and there is the way of a considerable school, of which Mr. O'Brien is an excellent example—to detail the facts and show how bitterly Ireland has been oppressed under English rule. The author began his labors with a study of Ireland in its most distressful period for its Catholic population, the eighteenth century. He discovered, what many before him had already found, that no such study could be complete which did not, at least, include the seventeenth century; and this volume is the result of that discovery. One may say at the outset that Mr. O'Brien has produced a valuable book. He has brought together from many sources—practically all in print—a mass of material relating to the economic condition of Ireland from 1603 to about 1700, with some figures a little beyond that date. This he has divided into four chapters: the Period of Construction, 1603-1641; the Period of Destruction, 1641-

1660; the Period of Reconstruction, 1660-1689; and the Period of Re-destruction, 1689-1700; and within two of those chapters he considers the various aspects of Irish industry, agriculture, manufacturing, fishing, mines, commerce, and finance, in much detail.

These form the bulk of his two hundred-odd pages; for the so-called periods of destruction cover scarcely more than thirty pages of the whole. Within these limits he has performed useful service. There are two possible grounds for suggesting that his work could be improved on the side of method. The one is that the material for such a definite question as, let us say, the Irish cattle, would be more effective if collected in one place; the other is that his presentation would gain by some comparative study of conditions and legislation on similar questions in England itself, and in the colonies. This, it may be urged, is beyond the scope of a volume on Ireland; but it certainly would add greatly in a study of a problem so controversial, and so bound up with other issues as is his. For economic "oppression" was not confined to Ireland in the seventeenth century, and no fair judgment of the relations between England and Ireland in that period can be based on Irish legislation alone nor on comparison, expressed or understood, between the conceptions of seventeenth-century economic legislation and those of modern times. The second is that, in the reviewer's opinion, he touches too lightly on the political situation which was in large measure responsible for all legislation, economic as well as political and social, in those fatal years. It was, perhaps, unwise; it may have been unnecessary; it certainly was disastrous to Ireland's prosperity; and perhaps to say that it was in accord with the spirit of the times, and England's well-founded fears for her own existence and her liberties, is, from an Irish point of view, to beg the whole question. But those facts remain as part of the problem; and it is not the part of scientific history, not even Irish economic history, to pay too little attention to these great realities. But it is too much to expect, no doubt, at this time, a complete, detached, and satisfactory, discussion of this great problem from either side of the controversial elements involved. If that should ever come, Mr. O'Brien's book will save its author from a considerable amount of investigation. Yet he probably will not then wholly assent to the conclusion of the present work, "that the realization of the cruel ambitions of the statesmen who succeeded the Revolution was only rendered possible by the destruction of the independence of the Irish legislature, and that the era of trade restriction and economic repression was heralded by a successful, if unconstitutional, assertion of the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland".

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Les Premières Controverses Jansénistes en France, 1640-1649. Par

ALBERT DE MEYER, Licencié en Théologie. [Université Catholique de Louvain, Dissertations Doctorales de la Faculté de Théologie, II^e série, tome IX.] (Louvain: Van Linthout. 1917. Pp. xxiii, 574.)

JANSENISM again! Yes; but, this time, a study, systematic and thorough, of a phase that too long has been neglected by writers whose chief interest was polemic, or for whom the more dramatic episodes of the movement have obscured the importance of its initial stages. The field chosen by Abbé Meyer has scarcely been explored, either by the earlier historians or by the modern students of Jansenism. Save for the work of the Abbé Legrand, on the Jansenist controversies at Louvain, there has been no adequate and comprehensive treatment of this, the first, period (1640-1649), based upon a thoroughgoing, scientific analysis and appraisal of source-materials. The work of the Abbé Meyer is fully documented. His researches have led him to the archives of the Vatican (chiefly for the correspondence of papal nuncios), to the archives of the French ministry for foreign affairs, and to manuscripts in various libraries in Rome, Paris, and Milan. And of the vast mass of controversial literature of the time, apparently not one relevant item has escaped his scrutiny.

Absolute freedom from doctrinal bias was hardly to be expected of any writer, Roman Catholic or Protestant, conservative or radical, upon a subject which touches the very fundamentals of Christian faith and practice. But, although the author, viewing it with the eye of a Catholic strictly and uncompromisingly orthodox, cannot but regard Jansenism as a grievous error, the more dangerous and insidious because of the apparent plausibility of certain of its tenets, he nevertheless intends and attempts to do justice to its founders and early adherents, attributing to them a sincere, though misdirected, zeal for reform, and recognizing their loftiness of character and their superior intellectual power. Without going as far as Bossuet, who declared Arnauld to have been the greatest genius of the seventeenth century, he repeatedly pays generous homage to the brilliant intellect of the protagonist of the first epoch, as also to the truly devout, if austere, temper of Saint-Cyran and the spiritual family of Port Royal. Nor does he attempt to gloss over the tactical blunders and dialectical ineptitude of many of the early opponents of Jansenism, or to deny the weakness of the Jesuit position and practice in regard to confession and penance. Truly, we have travelled a long way from the days of Pascal and his detractors! Indeed, the author goes so far as to acknowledge that at the close of the first period, 1649, the honors of the debate rested with Arnauld; and to intimate that, had it not been for the fatuous determination of certain over-zealous Jansenists to wrest from the Sorbonne (which up to that time had maintained an attitude of friendly neutrality) a formal con-

demnation of their adversaries, the Jesuits might have accepted their defeat and retired from the field discomfited (pp. 469-472).

The capital error of Jansenism, and the prime cause of its ultimate condemnation by the papacy, was, in the opinion of Abbé Meyer, neither its ultra-Augustinianism, nor its ethical rigorism (for, paradoxically, its very austerity lent added force to its appeal), but its implied challenge to the authority of the teaching Church. Although the Jansenists repudiated with heat the imputation of "Protestantism", yet in their attitude toward dogma and tradition, as immutable, and in their inclination to substitute for the Catholic doctrine of the Church the individualistic conception of the religious life, they were fundamentally at one with the Protestants. Against the commands of the living Church they set the authority of Augustine, and against the decrees of Trent, the practice of the fourth and fifth centuries; and in the interpretation of tradition, they arrogated to themselves the right of private judgment. Once that was perceived, the condemnation of Jansenism was inevitable. From one point of view, its failure was tragic; for it began as a movement of reform, from a high motive and with the promise of large service to religion; but it missed the path, became involved in error, and ended by frustrating the very reform which gave it birth, and plunging the Church of France into dissensions which sapped its strength and retarded its true progress for generations.

Such is the judgment of Abbé Meyer upon Jansenism. One may dissent. But no critic, Protestant or Roman Catholic, can fail to appreciate the immense service he has rendered by his laborious and exhaustive inquiry, to pay tribute to his erudition, or to discern, running through all his pages, the tolerant and magnanimous spirit of the true scholar.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Second Period of Quakerism. By WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE, President of the Woodbrooke Settlement. With an Introduction by RUFUS M. JONES, Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xlvii, 668. \$5.50.)

In the *Magnalia* Cotton Mather somewhat grudgingly recognized a second kind of Quakerism, for which he thought William Penn mainly responsible, quite different from the old Foxian type and much less objectionable. What he did not understand was that, owing to the greatness of the man, George Fox had pretty nearly as much to do with the later as with the earlier form; that, in fact, both represented stages in his own personal development. At first he was a voice, strong and penetrating, to which many attuned hearts in England gave resonance and carrying power; but many of his contemporaries speak of his eyes as well as his voice; and with advancing years and increasing responsibility, he came to see the necessity for organization both in polity, which

he accomplished, and in thought, which was the work of Barclay. That so arose a new sort of Quakerism, more orderly in speech and behavior, more logical and historical in thought, is indubitable. Naturally, however, such a change was bound to come in the second and third generation, for like many a similar movement, Quakerism which began as a protest against tradition soon became a tradition itself. Its forms, originally the expression of fresh and living enthusiasm, were impressed from without upon children born into the tradition, and in his zeal for organization, Fox was not more responsive to circumstances without the Society than he was sensitive to new conditions within. Whether on the whole the change was for the worse or the better, it was probably inevitable if Quakerism was to survive. That the change was made under the direction of George Fox himself was advantageous, for it did much to ensure continuity of spirit. Hence great interest attaches to this second period in the history of the movement which Mr. Braithwaite, whose admirable story of the *Beginnings* appeared seven years ago, has described in the present volume.

Although written by a Friend, the book is a history and not an apology, based upon careful and thorough investigation of original sources and amply documented. It also is remarkably successful in avoiding the danger to which study of so narrow a field is necessarily exposed. If a reader is tempted to forget that the Quakers were not the only sufferers during the trying days following the Restoration, he is reminded of the general situation often enough to preserve just balance and proportion. What is more, the story of the Quakers has been told in such a way as to reveal the structural lines of the period as a whole, and for such success in a remarkably difficult undertaking the author deserves hearty commendation.

By thus presenting the history of the party and the period immediately under consideration, Mr. Braithwaite makes an even more important contribution, for as he more than once intimates, although with extraordinary self-restraint he refrains from developing the suggestion, the history of Quakerism is, in essentials, a replica in miniature of the history of the Christian Church, particularly during its corresponding periods of formation and consolidation. The structural lines are the same in both. Like Quakerism Christianity began as a great enthusiasm; it too had its excesses, its emotional explosions, its travelling preachers knitting separated groups together, its persecutions sifting out the weak and compacting the strong, its growing coherence resisted by those who still clung to the original enthusiasm, and finally its consolidation into a church and a creed. By very easy substitutions one can read the story of early Christianity almost point for point in Mr. Braithwaite's history of the Quakers.

Moreover, the book has similar value in still another direction. The Friends were mystics, devoted to the inner light, submissive to its guid-

ance. Accordingly they were subject to the extreme individualism which has been the occasional glory but the more frequent bane of mysticism. How is the creative principle of the Friends compatible with any form of organization whatsoever? Theoretically it is not; yet by his practical genius and good sense, Fox was able to devise an organization which fitted his followers as neatly as Wesley's clothed his. That is to say, the Quaker forms are singularly adapted to the Quaker spirit, and by them the sense of the meeting controlled the aberrations of individuals. Mr. Braithwaite abundantly proves the interesting thesis with which Rufus Jones has made us familiar, that among the Friends mysticism became socialized.

W. W. FENN.

Historical Portraits, 1700-1850. The Lives by C. R. L. FLETCHER, the Portraits chosen by EMERY WALKER, with an Introduction by C. F. BELL. In two parts. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. Pp. xliii, 268; vii, 332. 12 sh. 6 d.)

WITH the appearance of these two handsome volumes the series of historical portraits with which the Clarendon Press has so enriched the available fund of illustrative material, comes for the time being to a close; though one may venture to hope that the success of these issues will be sufficient to encourage another volume which will complete the roll of worthies of the nineteenth century. In a sense these later volumes are of still more interest than their predecessors; for, by a curious paradox, many of these portraits are less familiar than those of earlier date, and of more immediate value in many ways.

There are two points of view from which such a collection may be approached; one is artistic, the other literary or historical. There are, to begin with, probably no two men in the world who would agree on precisely the same list of portraits to be thus honored by reproduction; and it is fair to say that the collaborators of this volume are to be congratulated in general on their selection. Yet the principle on which they worked remains a mystery. It is not greatness, for George IV. has a full page, while Adam Smith and John Wilkes—strange pair—divide a page between them. It is not beauty; for Charlotte Sophia—surely the homeliest of all royalties ever limned—gets a full page, while the beautiful portrait of the Princess Charlotte Augusta has only a half. It is certainly not artistic excellence; for Gainsborough's Sheridan gets half a page and Reynolds's brilliant Tarleton only a third, while Severn's wretched Keats, supported by two chairs, rises to full-page dignity.

When it comes to the biographies the case is clearer; for there we have a canon of evaluation which is as obvious as it is amusing. The portraits, one may hasten to observe, have not been chosen with political bias. But—the Duke of Wellington “hated democracy with a well-reasoned hatred, based upon knowledge and experience”; “The Holland

House gang which set to work to rehabilitate so many lost souls" could do nothing for Shelburne, though an "ingenious but not wholly successful attempt to say something good for Lord Holland has recently been made". "The unscrupulous partisanship and personal rancour" of Macaulay against Croker is noted, without a reference to the reverse of that picture, Croker's attitude toward Macaulay; and "it is infinitely to Wesley's credit that he was no politician; although he had every temptation to play the democrat".

It is perhaps apparent from these scattered quotations on which side of the political arena Mr. Fletcher's sympathies lie. Yet however convinced a democrat one may be, he must be grateful, as well as sometimes amused by the pungent observations scattered by the way in this collection of biographies and appreciations. They are—an amazing thing when one considers how dull men have made such things before!—extraordinarily readable. And a picture-book which one can read is surely a prodigy. For one needs only to consider the biographies which have accompanied the portraits of other such collections to perceive that Mr. Fletcher is as much a genius in his way as Mr. Walker is in his; and that between them they have produced an extraordinarily entertaining and instructive book. And if they had done nothing else to merit the thanks of historians, they have reproduced the most amusing portrait of an historical celebrity in the world—that of Edward Gibbon. For every one says, instinctively, "Is *that* Gibbon!" And Mlle. Suzanne Curchod is finally avenged.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Palmerston and the Hungarian Revolution. By CHARLES SPROXTON, Fellow of Peterhouse. (Cambridge: University Press. 1919. Pp. xii, 148. 7 sh. 6 d.)

THIS admirable dissertation was awarded the Prince Consort Prize in 1914. Then came the war and a scholarly career of exceptional promise was cut off. Charles Sproxton, fellow of Peterhouse, received his first commission within a month after the declaration of war, was promoted lieutenant in 1915, and captain in 1916, was twice wounded, received the military cross for conspicuous gallantry and resource, and fell on July 19, 1917, on the western front. Mr. Temperley, who was his tutor at Peterhouse and who has written a brief and impressive biographical sketch, says that "He did not enlist, as some did, because it was a duty, but because he considered it a privilege. In his eyes the war was a holy one because a crusade against evil." Captain Sproxton now lies in France, that holy land of our afflicted day. Modest—no one could ever get from him any account of the incident that won the military cross—shy, imaginative, religious, dreamy, and poetical, gifted with an extraordinary feeling for style, for "words which flushed and glowed", he had also the taste for historical research and the technique of the scholar, as this dissertation abundantly proves.

The monograph is based for the most part on the Foreign Office records in Chancery Lane. It sets forth freshly and succinctly England's, that is Palmerston's, policy toward the Hungarians from 1848 to 1850. The Hungarians had expected the aid of this "only Radical who had ever held a Foreign portfolio" and who so ostentatiously helped the Italians in their rebellion against Austria. But they never for a moment received it. The Italian provinces might properly be amputated, for such surgery was necessary in order "to fit Austria for her real life-work", but to make Hungary independent was to cripple Austria in its most vital organ and to that act Palmerston would be no party. Moreover he was perfectly candid and consistent in his views from first to last, and if the Hungarians deceived themselves it was, at least, not his fault. Palmerston's attitude may be easily presented by a single quotation:

Austria [he told the House of Commons] is a most important element in the balance of European power. Austria stands in the centre of Europe, a barrier against encroachment on the one side, and against invasion on the other. The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria, as a great European Power; and therefore anything which tends by direct or even remote contingency, to weaken and to cripple Austria, but still more to reduce her from the position of a first-rate Power to that of a secondary State, must be a great calamity to Europe, and one which every Englishman ought to deprecate, and to try to prevent.

Palmerston told a representative of the Hungarian government, whom he received unofficially, that if Austria "did not already exist, it would have to be invented; that it was a European necessity, and the natural ally of England in the East; he therefore counselled us to reconcile ourselves with Austria, because in the frame of the European State-system it would be impossible to replace Austria by small states".

Captain Sproxton's book is an amplification of and comment upon these opinions of Palmerston as applied to the diplomacy of the period. It is an instructive and interesting study, excellent in form and substance, keen and sure in criticism, and piquant in many of its observations and reflections.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Gambetta. Par PAUL DESCHANEL. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1919. Pp. 302.)

IF Gibbon was correct in thinking that his brief service as captain of the Hampshire grenadiers was of direct, professional advantage to the historian of the Roman Empire, much more obviously would the author of this life of Gambetta be justified, should he ever take to writing his memoirs, in alluding to the character of his career as qualifying him,

in an exceptional manner, for the task assumed. For over thirty years an active politician, involved in all the slippery and instructive warfare of parties and persons in a nation whose public life is characterized by unusual animation and artfulness, Mr. Deschanel has long been broken to the game in which Gambetta himself lived and moved and had his being. He has not witnessed the play from the parterre where the illusions and the wonderment of the theatre are wont to work their spell. He has been behind the scenes and in and out of the wings, at times a significant participant. Dedicated from birth to the republican faith by a father whose republicanism had meant a long exile under the Second Empire, Deschanel was in his youth a follower of Gambetta and in his later years the president of that assembly over which the great tribune had himself presided a generation earlier.

Mr. Deschanel has written the life of a great politician, a great patriot, a great heart. He has done it with abundant information, for it does not appear that he has neglected any of the voluminous printed sources and he has had access to some very significant unpublished letters, which are, in part, here reproduced. He has no doubt had the advantage of discussion with many of Gambetta's associates, like Freycinet and Reinach, or critics like Clemenceau. He has presented with vividness and with understanding the extraordinary vicissitudes of those fourteen amazing years into which the historic record of Gambetta was crowded. He has described without controversial heat, but with clear concision, the burning controversies in which Gambetta was involved. He has not stirred up the embers of the contentions of the past, but he has made the past glow under the truthful evocation of its spirit and its effort. The self-control, the fairness, the intellectual tact, the power of penetrating observation, the firm but urbane judgment of the author are apparent on every page. It is a pleasure to have another demonstration of the fact that a well-bred biography is not, as some would have us believe, bound to be insipid and jejune, wanting in pith and marrow, for this volume is full-blooded and vital in every chapter and in every paragraph. It is no fulsome panegyric, no noisy advertisement, but a balanced and critical, a knowing and a sympathetic portrait. There is here no hushing-up of mistakes and contradictions but also no over-emphasis of them. The reader is as grateful for the fine restraint in characterization and description shown by the author as he is for the pleasures of his literary art and for the reflections and illuminating comments on men and things scattered through the book. Deschanel's analysis, for instance, of the powers of the president of France, possesses a peculiar interest from the fact that since writing it he has himself been called to that high office.

In France the President of the Republic exercises a considerable right which the sovereigns of England have not exercised since the time of George I. and which astonishes our neighbors across the Channel;

he presides over the Council of Ministers. In this there is something else than mere custom; there is the character, the personal authority of the man. Such a president, for example, as Jules Grévy, who had never been a minister, knew how to exert a decisive influence upon the council. He let the ministers speak first, himself listening but saying nothing; then, under the guise of concluding the matter, he would sum up the discussion and would contrive to insinuate his own opinion, with such finesse and with such dialectic power that, in the end, he generally brought about its adoption.

This is far more perspicacious comment than Sir Henry Maine's famous and superficial epigram regarding the French presidency.

The only adverse criticism of this volume that I can think of is that it is too short. One would like it better were it three or four times as long. Books of this quality always instruct, and never tire.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Die Politischen Geheimverträge Oesterreich-Ungarns, 1879-1914, nach den Akten des Wiener Staatsarchivs. Von ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, O. ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Band I. (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1920. Pp. vii, 327.)

The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914. By Dr. ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, Professor of History in the University of Vienna. English edition by ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Harvard University. Volume I. *Texts of the Treaties and Agreements*, with Translations by DENYS P. MYERS and J. G. D'ARCY PAUL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xvii, 308.)

THE hope of historical students that from the disasters of war and revolution might result some compensation in the form of diplomatic revelations will be gratified by the appearance of this volume. No phase of recent diplomatic history has been more tantalizing than the formation and development of the Triple Alliance and its complementary treaties and conventions; for while historians have been able to deduce the general character of the treaties, the almost perfect secrecy in which their texts have been shrouded defied every attempt to determine their exact scope, and made impossible any comprehensive and adequate description of the negotiations which led up to them. The text of the German-Austrian treaty of 1879 was known to us in part, and the accompanying negotiations have been described in Wertheimer's *Andrássy*; while Professor Coolidge has summarized in his *Origins of the Triple Alliance* all the information hitherto available on that phase of diplomatic activity. Four articles of one of the Triple Alliance treaties were published in 1915 by the Austro-Hungarian government, together with

the conventions between Italy and Austria-Hungary concluded in 1900 and 1909 concerning the Balkans and particularly Albania. The text of the Russian-German-Austrian convention of 1881 (League of the Three Emperors) was made public recently by Germany, and the more vital portions of the text of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 were published by Professor Goriainov in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1918 (XXIII. 324-349). But from such comparatively slim material it was impossible to reconstruct the history of Austria's relations with her neighbors or to complete a really satisfactory study of the scope and character of the Triple Alliance. Great credit should be given to the work of Singer, Helmolt, Friedjung, and Fráknói, but their conclusions could obviously not be definitive.

Dr. Pribram, who soon after the revolution of November, 1918, was granted access to the secret papers of the Vienna state archives, has given us in this volume documents indispensable to the comprehension of Hapsburg foreign policy from 1879 to 1914, many of which throw strong light upon that of Austria's neighbors, Italy in particular. It is an interesting and important collection. Besides the treaties referred to above, the complete texts of which are now published, he includes the protocols of 1883 and 1902 prolonging the Austro-German alliance of 1879; the five treaties of the Triple Alliance (1882, 1887, 1891, 1902, 1912); the treaties of the Austro-Serbian alliance (1881, 1889); the treaties of alliance between Rumania on the one hand and Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy on the other, with their prolongations (1883, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1902, 1913); the Mediterranean agreements between Austria, Italy, and Great Britain (1887) and Italy and Spain (1887, 1891); and the Austro-Russian treaties of 1897 and 1904 dealing with the Balkans and with the maintenance of neutrality. As an annex at the end of his volume appears the Austro-German-Italian naval agreement of 1913.

In the second portion of his work Dr. Pribram supplies a narrative of the negotiations that resulted in the treaties of the Triple Alliance. That narrative, covering 186 pages, is divided into seven sections, each of which deals with the making of one of the five treaties and the two automatic renewals of the Triple Alliance in 1896 and 1907. Dr. Pribram points out the impossibility, in view of the complex nature of the subject, of adhering to chronological order in dealing with the negotiations of all the treaties which he publishes; he reserves, accordingly, for a later volume his account of the negotiations leading up to the separate treaties with Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Germany, and Italy. His narrative of the Triple Alliance negotiations, contained in the present volume, is compressed and pragmatic in style. He disclaims any intention of writing a complete history of the Triple Alliance, avoiding all discussion of political conditions or interpretative generalizations, and restricts himself to a rather bald but fully documented account of the treaty nego-

tiations simply. The intricate course of those negotiations is admirably elucidated in an introduction immediately preceding his narrative. Dr. Pribram himself emphasizes the fact that even this strictly diplomatic narrative is incomplete, inasmuch as he has investigated only the Vienna state archives, and that his work needs to be supplemented, especially on the side of the stipulations of the treaties that concerned Germany and Italy exclusively.

The narrative is scholarly in tone and displays a moderation that is surprising when we remember the political conditions under which it was written. Dr. Pribram's point of view is naturally Austrian, and he assumes as self-evident facts various hypotheses, such as a comprehensive *Einkreisungspolitik* on the part of England, which Anglo-Saxon historians are apt to question. But while many of his conclusions will be accepted only with reservations, they are nowhere completely vitiated by national bias. His indictment of Italian policy as brutally selfish and not entirely loyal is not pleasant reading, but it is supported by ample evidence of high quality. On the other hand it is obvious, and Dr. Pribram himself implies it, that if Italy made the most of her opportunities to increase her demands upon her allies, she was, according to diplomatic rules, justified in so doing by reason of the fact that as Russia and France drew more close to each other, the value of the Italian alliance to Germany and Austria increased commensurately. His narrative brings out the fact of Italy's use of the alliance to secure for herself opportunities for the exercise of influence in the Balkan Peninsula, at the moment when her government was permitting and possibly encouraging the rise of the irredentist spirit; and he emphasizes the embarrassment that Austria's concessions to Italy in the Balkans raised in the former's relations with Russia and Turkey, at the same time that Italy was meditating an imperialistic policy in the Adriatic. But it is difficult to accept his conclusion that, whereas Italy derived the greatest advantages from the Triple Alliance, it was Austria which, of the three powers, got the worst bargain. Admitting the extent of the sacrifices made by Austria, it seems true, as Professor Coolidge intimates in his preface to the American edition, that the alliance was of almost vital value to her. Given the increasing danger from Russia in the east, it was of the first importance that Italy in the west should be at least a titular friend. And the value of the alliance to Austria necessarily increased with the renaissance of nationalistic spirit in Hapsburg territories, which even before the war threatened the disintegration of the empire.

The text of the treaties naturally throws strong light upon many long-debated problems. Among the points now definitely settled may be cited the fact that it was the separate Austro-German alliance of 1879, which after 1902 was automatically renewed, and not the Triple Alliance that guaranteed German assistance to Austria in case of a Russian

attack and which formed the basis of the policy of the Central Empires. Equally significant is the anxiety of Italy to effect a *rapprochement* between the Triple Alliance and Great Britain, in view of Italy's Mediterranean policy, her partial and temporary success, and the increasing tendency of Italy to forsake her allies after the breach between Germany and Great Britain became serious. It is interesting also to note that the treaties of the Triple Alliance did not contain definite military stipulations; a special military convention between Germany and Italy was concluded in 1888, providing for the employment of Italian troops against France, and two naval agreements were concluded between the three powers of the alliance, the latter (1913) providing for united action of the combined naval forces of Germany, Italy, and Austria, especially in the Mediterranean. The suspicion that Rumania was definitely bound to the Triple Alliance is verified, and also the fact that Spain was drawn within its orbit during the late eighties.

Professor Coolidge's American edition, published by the Harvard University Press, will evoke the gratitude not merely of the general public, which is unwilling to read French and German, but of scholars, who would doubtless find it difficult to secure copies of the original edition and who would in any case have been embarrassed by the flimsy quality of its paper and binding. He has given to us the original texts of the treaties, with the translations most conveniently arranged upon the opposite page. As the matter included is thereby almost doubled, the translation of the narrative of the negotiations has been reserved for a second volume; but Dr. Pribram's introduction, summarizing his chief conclusions, has been inserted immediately before the texts of the treaties. The translation of the introduction is felicitous and effective, and the reviewer has been unable to detect errors either in this or in the translation of the texts. In view of the speed with which it has been completed and the importance of the subject-matter, the preparation and publication of Professor Coolidge's edition may be regarded as a *tour de force* deserving the warmest praise.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Der Weltkrieg. VON KARL HELFFERICH. Band I. *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges.* Band II. *Vom Kriegsausbruch bis zum uneingeschränkten U-Bootkrieg.* Band III. *Vom Eingreifen Amerikas bis zum Zusammenbruch.* (Berlin: Ullstein und Co. 1919. Pp. 230; 430; 658. M. 60.)

In a preface remarkable for its high professions of entire good faith, and of the writer's desire to contribute to the re-establishment of enduring international relations, Dr. Helfferich promises the readers the truth and nothing but the truth.

As a trained scholar who since 1901 had been officially in touch with German colonial and financial policy and who during the war had been

in charge of two cabinet portfolios and the vice-chancellorship, he possessed particular qualifications for his task.

The three volumes are therefore disappointing. He does, to be sure, give us certain new and occasionally striking information. His story of the Bagdad railway project from the inside, his account of the conferences with English financiers regarding the disposition of the Portuguese African colonies, and the concrete German peace terms sent to Bernstorff "for President Wilson's private information" at the request of Colonel House on January 28, 1917, are in this regard among the most important. But for the historian the value of Dr. Helfferrich's work will lie in such incidentals and in the picture which it gives of the state of mind in German governmental circles at various periods of the war. He generally fails to cite documents textually, and foot-notes, rare in the first volume, are almost entirely wanting in volumes II. and III.

Instead of giving us the truth of history, Dr. Helfferrich is much more concerned with inculcating in the German mind certain political "truths". Briefly summarized, they are as follows: The greatness and prosperity of Germany were due to the house of Hohenzollern and her former system of government. Only with some such concentration of her strength could she have prospered or can she recover. This government was not aggressive and sought the continuance of peace before the war and the return of peace during the war. The great and fatal mistake of a large section of the German people has been in allowing themselves to be deluded into the belief that the long continuance of the war was the result of the designs of the German government, when as a matter of fact it was made necessary by the will of the Entente to destroy Germany. In order to maintain these theses he holds that the war was forced upon a peace-loving Germany and quotes his pamphlet of 1915, *Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges*, as still authoritative, in which "Russia is adjudged the incendiary, France and England the fellow criminals". To make this clearer he explains that the Triple Alliance was pacific in purpose, an insurance company, *Versicherungsgesellschaft*, while the Entente was aggressive, a development or acquiring company, *Erwerbsgesellschaft*.

Germany lost the war and started on the road to disaster when the Reichstag began to demand changes in the German governmental system. This broke down the truce of parties, the *Burgfriede*. The fatal phrase *Neuorientierung* (which meant only constitutional reforms) Dr. Helfferrich began to hear with apprehension early in 1915. As this demand increased it undermined that confidence in the Kaiser and the government indispensable to the conduct of a successful war. This confidence had been the source of Germany's strength, and the attacks upon the government opened the way for irresponsible party politicians of whom Erzberger was the most selfish, the most dishonest, and the most

unpatriotic. The final collapse was caused not by any mistakes of Germany's foreign or military policy but by internal dissensions.

Just as he holds that Germany had been forced into a war of defense, so too he assures us that she would have been willing to end the war at any stage without profit to herself. "At any time under any chancellor", Germany would have been willing to conclude peace on the *status quo ante* basis. He admits that it might have been difficult to do this, but assures us that it would have been done.

Although the thirteen hundred pages give us from Dr. Helfferich's standpoint a well-organized presentation of the causes and vicissitudes of the war, containing much interesting material, the selection and presentation is determined by his theses. To discuss these after all that has been said and written would be to thresh straw, and it may safely be considered as a fairly ingenious and occasionally disingenuous *Tendenzschrift*. Germany's foreign and war policy is nowhere subjected to any severe critique, and where facts do not accord with theses they are consistently omitted. On the immediate causes of the war, instead of citing the correspondence with Austria, since published by Kautsky, he reaffirms Germany's desire for peace, her obligations to her ally, and to prove her entire innocence of aggressive intent resorts to indirect argument. If Germany and Austria had planned to make war, he assures us, they would have consulted their ally Italy, and as they did not do so they must be absolved of guilt. Unfortunately the minutes of the Vienna crown council meeting of July 7, 1914, show that Count Berchtold in opening the session announced that he agreed with Kaiser Wilhelm and von Bethmann-Hollweg in believing that it would be wiser to "act" first and take up the question of "compensations" with Italy and Rumania later. This decision of the German Kaiser and chancellor had presumably been reached on July 5 in the Potsdam conference, a conference which Dr. Helfferich assures us had never taken place, though its personnel has since been given us by von Tirpitz.

Dr. Helfferich seems to have been actuated by the desire not only of justifying Germany's "military masters" but also of rehabilitating himself in public esteem. For this reason he slights or entirely omits those phases of Germany's war policy which must now be considered to have been mistakes, such as the treatment of conquered territory, the deportations, and the Zimmermann note, though the decisions which brought them about were reached while he was a member of the cabinet.

In one case this is particularly striking. He tries to justify his policy of not levying war taxes in 1915 by a long discussion of the financial principles involved. He tells us that his disapproval of such taxes was based entirely on the economic situation, the difficulty of making levies on dislocated German industry, and the small amounts that could have been raised in any case.

The real reason for Dr. Helfferich's failure to burden the public with

war taxes was quite different. It was not based on economic considerations but on Germany's war aims, which at that time included a war indemnity. Nowhere in the three volumes have we any inkling of this, and it is everywhere denied by implication. Yet in presenting his budget to the Reichstag on March 10, 1915, Dr. Helfferich explained proudly and frankly that taxation was unnecessary since "this war is not being waged for the present but above all for the future and because we hold fast to the hope that we shall at the conclusion of peace be able to present to our enemies the bill for the war that has been forced upon us" (*An das Deutsche Volk: die Reichstagsreden des Kanzlers und des Schatzsekretärs*, Berlin, Carl Heymanns, p. 63).

Such seemingly deliberate suppression of the truth and of his own previously recorded opinions tends to make us feel that Dr. Helfferich's history is not merely prejudiced but that its author is lacking in that intellectual probity which must ever be the first quality of the historian.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Erinnerungen. Von ALFRED VON TIRPITZ. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1919. Pp. xii, 526.)¹

THE desire on the part of former leaders of German opinion to report themselves and their causes aright is responsible for a number of recent volumes which vary in sincerity and reliability. In the case of Tirpitz's *Erinnerungen* the conclusion forces itself upon us that, though probably sincere, they are hardly reliable and as history are valuable only on incidental matters. This statement must, however, be modified with regard to the earlier section, dealing with the period from 1866 to about 1905, for the story of Tirpitz is largely the story of the German navy. No one understood it more thoroughly or was more responsible for its later development than he. He was a close student of naval affairs, and until questions of controversy begin to bulk large, he is an interesting and fairly trustworthy guide on German naval policy.

A thorough believer in the Prussian tradition, he understood only the policy of bluff and force. His work is an astonishing mixture of arrogance and childish petulance. He writes in an attitude of *impenitentia ultima* and retires from the stage shaking his fist at "perfidious Albion", which once having been a friend, then out of envy, after 1896, became an implacable enemy, and having cunningly stimulated France's desire for revenge and Russia's jealousy, finally succeeded in setting the world against peaceful Germany.

Aside from his hatred of England, Tirpitz's master-passion at present is the desire to justify himself. This results in an odd distribution of space and in some rather striking omissions in his correspondence. Although 188 of his large pages deal with the war, only twenty-six are

¹ An English translation, under the title *My Memoirs*, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

devoted to the events after March 17, 1916, the date of Tirpitz's removal from the cabinet. One hundred and ten pages are devoted to his *Kriegsbriefe*, of which one was written almost every day from headquarters at Charleville. Yet we notice a gap from May 13 to July 13, 1915. The letters of this period would naturally have contained the reactions on the *Lusitania's* sinking. Evidently Tirpitz did not wish to have them preserved, and the letters contain no mention of this success or blunder of the submarines.

Students who have wondered about Tirpitz's influence on German affairs will find the answer given here quite naïvely. It is evident that after 1911 (Agadir) he was at daggers drawn with Bethmann-Hollweg. The Kaiser likewise did not trust his judgment and was present at Tirpitz's interview with Haldane, whom Tirpitz treats as a Machiavellian politician who was trying to render Germany defenseless and place her at the mercy of England. Tirpitz was evidently the *enfant terrible* of the cabinet. Bethmann-Hollweg accused him of undermining the chancellor's influence and standing, and in spite of Tirpitz's denial, the letters show that the accusation was justified. The Kaiser would evidently have been relieved to have been rid of him but did not dare dismiss him because of his popularity as the creator and symbol of the navy. In the cabinet Tirpitz's influence however seems to have been virtually *nil*.

He did not approve the method in which the submarine decree of February, 1915, was promulgated with its warning to neutrals, and would have preferred an announcement of the submarine blockade of the mouth of the Thames and adjoining regions, which would gradually have been extended. He tells us in his *Erinnerungen* proper that the *Lusitania* was armed and sank as a result of the explosion of the munitions she carried. He believes the war would have been won if unrestricted submarine warfare had been declared in 1916. To him his fellows in the cabinet and in the direction of the navy, Bethmann-Hollweg, Jagow, von Pohl, etc., were incompetent epigones. He confesses that he himself would have accepted the chancellorship, which may explain much. Later he was for Hindenburg.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Die Oberste Heeresleitung, 1914-1916, in ihren wichtigsten Entschliessungen. Von ERICH VON FALKENHAYN. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn. 1920. Pp. viii, 252.)

For the student of the Great War, there could hardly be a more alluring title than *General Headquarters and its Critical Decisions*. It promises a kind of enlightenment which perhaps no research elsewhere would afford; "inside" information as to the plans and projects, the calculations and expectations on which the principal operations were based, and competent *critiques* of their execution. The work itself is a memoir, rather than a history. It makes no references to authorities,

and furnishes little in the form of documents, but it bears evidence of more careful preparation than is usual with memoirs and of being based on authentic records or accurate first-hand knowledge. It is illustrated with seven maps in a folder and five sketch-maps in the text. A table of numerical strength gives the approximate numbers for both sides at various dates on the eastern and on the western front.

Instead of an index, the book has a "register" of persons from which the most important name in the book, that of the author, is omitted, and in which the page-numbers are generally if not invariably wrong.

The general idea by which von Falkenhayn was guided in his conduct of the war was that Germany was fighting for her existence against enemies who were bent on her destruction. He believed that victory or defeat was a question of military endurance, that the salvation of his country depended on the complete development and careful conservation of her strength.

The outstanding features of his narrative are the shifting of troops from one front to another, especially from the western to the eastern; the shortages and failures due to miscalculations made in peace and in war; the author's disagreements with Austrian headquarters; his friction with von Hindenburg; and finally his resignation and relief from duty as chief of staff on an irreconcilable difference with the emperor over an indispensable, fundamental principle (*um einen unbedingt festzuhaltenden Grundsatz*). What this ultimatum was may be disclosed some day by Count Hohenzollern.

Among the German miscalculations which von Falkenhayn admits, were the quantity of supplies that the Allies were to receive from the United States and from Italy; the strength of France on the outbreak of war; the limitations of submarine warfare; the unreadiness of Mohammedans for a holy war; the natural defenses of the Suez Canal; the feebleness of Austria-Hungary; and the power of the United States.

Von Hindenburg was bent on smashing the Russians, on putting them permanently out of action by a crushing defeat. Von Falkenhayn was for pinching off a part of their army. Both operations were undertaken at the same time, without either having the force that it might and should have had. The joint result was, of course, a disappointment. When afterwards von Falkenhayn called on von Hindenburg for a number of divisions for the western front, he received a reply which may be qualified as insubordinate, concluding with a request that von Hindenburg's views be laid before the emperor. They were laid before the emperor, and the emperor sustained von Falkenhayn. Whatever may be thought of von Falkenhayn's estimate of the situation, no one with any military standards can read the documents he presents without concluding that von Hindenburg was deficient in obedience and loyalty.

Von Falkenhayn's story produces an impression which is confirmed by von Ludendorff's, that the recent war, making all allowances for un-

precedented difficulties, was not as creditable to the German agencies of preparation and execution as the war of 1870-1871. Perhaps von Tirpitz was right when he wrote in his diary (September 7, 1914), "all would go well, if we had an *Iron Chancellor* and an *old Kaiser*."

A good translation of this work is published by Hutchinson and Company, London. It includes the maps, with one unimportant exception. The index of names is not as faulty as the German, but is decidedly poor. The two Generals von Below (Otto and Fritz) are indexed as General von Below. General von Bülow and the former Chancellor von Bülow are indexed as General von Bülow.

A translation published by Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, has the same text as Hutchinson's, but no index. It has the same maps, but some of the larger ones are so reduced in size that many of the names are illegible. It is entitled *The German General Staff and its Decisions, 1914-1916*.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Im Weltkriege. VON OTTOKAR CZERNIN. (Berlin and Vienna: Ullstein und Co. 1919. Pp. xi, 428.)

AMONG the swarm of revelations that are appearing in connection with the diplomatic history of the war, Count Czernin's book is one of the really notable ones. It is true he is disappointing, for he continually makes us feel that he might have told us much more if he had chosen to, but, as far as he goes, he is well worth attention. He was altogether the ablest Austrian statesman at the helm during the war period; he knows his facts and they are inside ones; and he writes clearly and with apparent straightforwardness, giving us the Austrian point of view as distinct from the German one with which we are familiar. His expression of his own opinions and aims is perhaps even more interesting. Though never abusive, he is frank in his language about his German allies and especially about Ludendorff and the military party, whose policy he regards as responsible for bringing their country to ruin. As for his own policy, his main thesis is that Austria was too completely in the hands of her powerful friend for her to be able to make peace alone. Any attempt to do so would have been suppressed, and suppressed by force if need be. Another objection to a separate arrangement was that the Allies, by the famous treaty of London of 1915, had committed themselves to the dismemberment of Austria. Count Czernin comes back to this point again and again, arguing that the agreement rendered it impossible for Austria to withdraw from the struggle. His own great object as foreign minister was to bring about a general peace, even at the cost of painful sacrifices on the part of the Central Empires. To his thinking, the main objection was the question of Alsace-Lorraine, because France, supported by England, would not lay down her arms until she had won back her lost provinces. He therefore made strenuous efforts to persuade Germany to surrender them, and in return he

was willing to give up Austrian Poland and other Polish territory to Germany—perhaps getting compensation for Austria in Rumania. In this policy he was supported by Emperor Charles and, in Germany, he met with some response for a moment; even the Crown Prince was inclined to listen to him, but the military party totally refused to entertain the idea, and they had their way.

One of the best features of this book is the author's keen judgment and his apparent frankness in telling us his impressions of some of the people with whom he came into contact. He had long known intimately the unfortunate Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and he gives us a pathetic and kindly picture of him. At the same time, he openly admits many of his faults and expresses disbelief that if the archduke had lived to become emperor he could have carried out his policies and rejuvenated the empire. The reader certainly gets the same impression. Count Czernin adds: "The structure of the monarchy which he wished to support and strengthen was already so decayed that it could not stand any strong shock and it would probably have collapsed if not from this war from without, from within through revolution." This is a rather startling admission from a high Austrian official of the old régime.

Among other interesting things in the volume, we note particularly the remarks on the character of Kaiser William and the extracts from Count Czernin's diary at Brest-Litovsk, also his account of the peace of Bucharest. On the other hand, he tells us nothing of the circumstances that led to his own fall from office. Let us hope that we shall hear from him again.

Meine Kriegserinnerungen, 1914-1918. Von ERICH [von] LUDENDORFF. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn. 1919. Pp. viii, 628.)

Ludendorff's Own Story, August 1914-November 1918: the Great War from the Siege of Liège to the Signing of the Armistice as viewed from the Grand Headquarters of the German Army. By ERICH VON LUDENDORFF, Quartermaster-General of the German Army. In two volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1919. Pp. ix, 477; 473. \$7.50.)

ON August 29, 1916, von Hindenburg succeeded von Falkenhayn as chief of staff of the German army. Von Ludendorff was made assistant chief of staff with the title of first quartermaster-general. He held this office until October 26, 1918, about two weeks before the armistice. Von Falkenhayn had held it from September 14, 1914, about two months after the beginning of the war, until he resigned it in August, 1916. The stories of von Falkenhayn and von Ludendorff cover the activities of the general staff almost through the war, but while von Falkenhayn confines himself to the two years of his incumbency as chief of staff, von Ludendorff embraces his whole four years of war service.

He admits in his preface that he writes principally from memory. He gives a wealth of interesting comment and *ex parte* statement of motives, intentions, and expectations, which he does not prove. For instance, he says that in the latter part of 1917, the chief of the naval general staff, von Holtzendorf, predicted that unrestricted U-boat warfare, if carried out, would decide the war in Germany's favor in six months (pp. 248, 250). He later remarks that such warfare was carried out and refuted the prediction (p. 348). His representation of this matter may serve as a clue to the reality; it does not establish a fact.

His treatment of the administrative and political sides of the war is the best part of the work. His accounts of battles are in many cases unsatisfactory. Their cardinal fault is the lack of figures. There is no telling from them the numbers of troops engaged and the numbers lost. Without such information no critique of the operations is possible. Looking up divisions on the map and following them forward and backward, without getting an idea of the net result, is as tiresome as it is unprofitable.

There are ten folding maps in a pocket and forty-six small maps in the text. They are generally good, but not one of the fifty-six shows by name Pletz, Kreuznach, or Spa, successively headquarters of the German army, nor Neu Sandec, headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian army, nor the Murman Coast, the Entente base in Russia. There is no general index, but there is an index of persons, from which the name of the author is omitted.

The outbreak of the war found von Ludendorff in command of a brigade in Strasburg. He was assigned to duty with General von Emmich, who was charged with taking Liège. Having distinguished himself in this operation, he was designated as chief of staff of the 8th Army, which under General von Hindenburg was to oppose the Russian forces invading East Prussia and threatening to march on Berlin. The battle of Tannenberg (August 27-29, 1914) which made von Hindenburg the hero of Germany, is perhaps the most brilliant achievement of the war. Two Russian armies, Rennenkampf's on the right and Samsonov's on the left, were confronted by two fractions of the 8th German Army. The Germans withdrew two army corps and a cavalry brigade from in front of Rennenkampf and threw them, together with the German right wing, against Samsonov. The Russians in the theatre of operations outnumbered the Germans, and it would seem that on the field of battle they had a slight preponderance. But Samsonov's army was annihilated.

The first battle of the Masurian Lakes, fought a few days later, was also a victory for the Germans. If not so brilliant as that of Tannenberg, it was hardly less remarkable.

Von Ludendorff was in his element. Had such bold aggressive tactics as he employed in these two actions been the right kind for every

situation, he would have come out of the contest with even higher reputation than he enjoys. He was to show that where delaying or defensive tactics were called for he was not so efficient.

In the summer of 1915, it was decided at general headquarters to concentrate all available forces on a short campaign in the east. Generals von Hindenburg and von Ludendorff were called into consultation. Their proposition that the main effort be directed from the north against the enemy's right flank was not accepted. According to von Falkenhayn, they were instructed to direct the main effort against the enemy's right centre; to assemble for the operation all available troops; to abstain, pending the campaign, from every forward movement not absolutely necessary to security; and to begin operations on July 12.¹

Von Ludendorff states without explanation that the first movement toward the enemy was made on July 13 (pp. 116-117); that the left wing entered upon offensive operations on the 15th. The campaign had hardly started. He admits (p. 117) that he was not at liberty to withdraw troops from the centre to reinforce the left, but says nothing about the injunction to reinforce the right centre to the extent of his ability. That he failed to do this is apparent from his own statements.

He incidentally shows that, from the beginning of the war, he considered Germany as defending herself against a combined assault with intent to destroy her, and laments the fact that the people were never made to realize that the country was fighting for its life. He finally tendered his resignation as chief of staff because the emperor took exception to an harangue he addressed to the troops, which for military impropriety it would be hard to beat. He said in part:

Wilson's answer calls for military capitulation. It is, therefore, for us soldiers, unacceptable. It is proof that the will of our enemies to destroy us, which unchained the war of 1914, continues undiminished. It is furthermore proof that our enemies use the phrase "Just Peace" only with their mouths, in order to deceive us and break our resistance. Wilson's answer can, therefore, for us soldiers, be only a call to continue our resistance with all our strength. When our enemies recognize that the German front cannot, with any amount of sacrifice, be broken through, they will be ready for a good peace, which will make the future of Germany, particularly for the masses of the people, secure.

Does this mean a change of heart, a turning to von Falkenhayn's policy of wearing the enemy out? If so, it was too late. The emperor accepted his resignation and so closed his military career.

A translation of this work in two volumes has been published by Hutchinson and Company, London. How reliable it is may be judged from these two samples with correct versions:

"A single command was not established for General von Hindenburg and I preferred to remain independent" (I. 78). A single command

¹ Von Falkenhayn, p. 98.

was not established. General von Hindenburg and I preferred to remain independent.

"At the same time we decided to take Kovno and let the Niemen army continue its attack. Both good as far as they went" (I. 151). At the same time we decided to attack Kovno and let the Niemen army continue its attack; both as far as might be practicable.

Any one who can read German should prefer the original to this translation.

A translation, also in two volumes, is published by Harper and Brothers, New York. It gives the second of the foregoing quotations in this form:

"At the same time we decided to take Kovno and the Niemen Army continue its attack if all went well."

The translator may be able to parse and analyse this sentence. If this were done, it might be so punctuated that it would render the German or show how near it comes to doing so. Such faultiness as this, however, is not characteristic of the work. As a whole the translation is good. It has a particular advantage over the London version, in being accompanied by a topical index.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Ein Jahr in der Reichskanzlei: Erinnerungen an die Kanzlerschaft meines Vaters. VON KARL Graf VON HERTLING, Rittmeister. (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1919. Pp. vii, 192.)

THE son of the late Count Hertling has, in this book, given us a record of his experiences during the year in which his father was chancellor of the German Empire. It is primarily a labor of love and a defense of his father, especially, it would appear, against certain statements in Ludendorff's memoirs. But since Count Hertling was the son, personal adjutant, and close confidant of the chancellor, his account of German policy possesses a very real interest to the student of this period.

The central feature of the book is the development and downfall of the policy of the Hertling-Kühlmann régime. And it is in the account of the fundamental features of this policy that the greatest value of the book seems to lie. In the first place it was not—if Count Hertling's account can be trusted—a policy of annexation. In the second place it appears to have been anti-Russian rather than anti-English or anti-French. Annexations of the eastern border—except for certain frontier rectifications—were to be avoided, but the chancellor seems to have hoped that in the group of new states that had been formed at Brest-Litovsk Germany would find future allies and dependents. Toward the western allies the chancellor's policy seems to have been to negotiate peace on the basis of no annexations or indemnities, and he evidently hoped to erect this peace on the basis of Wilson's "four points". The brief mention of the secret mission to America to negotiate on the interpretation of these points merely whets the appetite.

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The relations between the civilian government at Berlin and general headquarters are fully treated. On these points the book should probably be read in connection with the Ludendorff memoirs, to which it is, in a certain sense, a reply. While in the main the narrative is frank and full, at certain critical moments either reasons of state or lack of knowledge intervene and impose silence. Notably is this true with respect to the attitude of the emperor at the time of the Kühlmann crisis. Interesting to note is the differentiation between Hindenburg and Ludendorff; the former is depicted as generally sympathetic with the policy of the chancellor. Possibly this may be explained by the common emphasis on Russia in the minds of both Hindenburg and Hertling.

The difficulties between Germany and her allies, Austria and Bulgaria, during the last year of the war are fully depicted, although the account is almost certainly unfair to the last two. Those who regarded Austria as a mere tool of Germany will find scant comfort in the pages of Count Hertling's book. Turkey, the third ally, is hardly mentioned.

Prejudiced as the author undoubtedly is in favor of his father and his father's policy, the book bears the marks of honesty and truthfulness. And in its suggestive hints as well as its positive revelations it is a book that the student of German policy in the last year of the war can hardly afford to neglect.

MASON W. TYLER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies, as Illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila, 1583-1800. By CHARLES HENRY CUNNINGHAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of History in the University of Texas. [University of California Publications in History, vol. IX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 479. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR CUNNINGHAM has produced the first volume in English which attempts a complete historical survey of one of the principal colonial institutions of Spain. The author begins his volume with the statement that "the Audiencia was primarily a judicial institution". He then develops his thesis, emphasizing the non-judicial functions, which have been neglected by previous writers, to such an extent that the reader who has persisted to the end has almost lost sight of the fundamental character of the institution. Two preliminary chapters deal with the audiencias of the Spanish colonies and the history of the establishment of the audiencia of Manila. The two following chapters (109 pp.) treat of the purely judicial functions and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the semi-judicial and non-judicial powers, particularly in their relation to the governor and the ecclesiastical functionaries.

The volume is very readable and not uninteresting, although the dis-

cussions are long drawn out at times, and there is much repetition, it being found even on a single page (*e.g.*, pp. 131, 358). The book in its present form will serve admirably for an exhaustive study of the audiencia, especially as to the non-judicial powers. The average reader however would be interested in a more condensed statement of the facts and excellent conclusions of the work. The book represents an immense amount of research, as is evidenced by citations to some two hundred *legajos* of the 531 which are listed in the bibliography under the head of "Manuscript materials from the Archive of the Indies". In addition the Laws of the Indies have been carefully examined and all the material relative to the audiencia summarized. The conclusion of Professor Cunningham, based on the comparison of the actual practice in colonial administration with the legislation of the Laws of the Indies, is that

these laws were actually used as a basis of colonial government, and that, while not always effectively enforced, they were by no means a dead-letter until Spain actually lost her colonies and are not today, for it is easy to see in the laws of the Indies the fundamentals of the institutions of present-day Spanish America,

—a conclusion which will serve to counteract the general charges of earlier writers that the law and practice in Spanish colonization did not coincide.

The author assumes that the audiencia of Manila "was typical of all the audiencias in the Spanish colonial system". After reading the chapters on the relations of the audiencia and the governor and noting the extremely important position of the audiencia of Manila, one is led to wonder whether the importance of the audiencia which was at the side of the viceroy was not somewhat less on account of the higher rank of this latter official. The date of the founding of the first audiencia in the colonies is an interesting problem left unsettled by the author. He gives the date for the founding of the audiencia of Santo Domingo as 1526 (p. 16), but later states that various references to this audiencia dated before 1526 are to be found in the Archive of the Indies (p. 19, note 27). He seems to have overlooked the *cédula* dated October 5, 1511, and cited by Danvila y Collado (*El Poder Civil en España*, V: 155, I. 636), which provided for the "creation of the audiencia of Santo Domingo and the approval of its ordinances".

In general make-up the volume has the excellent characteristics of the previous historical publications of the University of California. A few errors in the spelling of proper names, a too lavish use of *ibid.* in references, which makes for confusion, and some mistakes in citations to the Laws of the Indies and *legajos* in the Archive of the Indies, mar the otherwise perfect typography of the book. The derivation of *alcabala*, a word of Arabic origin, from "al que vale" is surely untenable.

A bibliography of printed works cited and a check-list of materials

in the Archive of the Indies are appended. The index is rather brief and somewhat incomplete. So important a topic as "appeals from the *audiencia*", which is extensively treated, is omitted from the index.

Professor Cunningham is to be congratulated on his distinct contribution to the study of Spanish colonial institutions.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union: Cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. Collected and edited by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. In two volumes. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xlii, 873; viii, 902. \$7.50.)¹

THESE two handsome volumes, bound in crimson and gold, are the contribution of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference. Prepared by Dr. James Brown Scott, the scholarly director of the Endowment's Division of International Law, upon the eve of his departure for Paris as a technical delegate to the Peace Conference, it was hoped that this concrete evidence of how controversies between partially independent and sovereign states had been judicially settled for several generations might impress the members of the conference with the practicability of providing a somewhat similar method of settling disputes between states far more alien and separate than were ever those of British North America. The fate of this pious hope, like that of many others, is still in the womb of time, but meanwhile these fine books will delight the historian and the lawyer.

Up to June, 1918, just eighty different proceedings between our states, or between them and the United States, have been decided by the federal Supreme Court. More than half of this number, however, are merely procedural or involve successive steps in a single controversy, so that the total number of different disputes settled on their merits is thirty-five. Of these, twenty are boundary disputes and fifteen concern other matters, the latest and perhaps the most significant of the latter being the famous suit by Virginia to compel West Virginia to pay her fair share of the former state debt of the Old Dominion before its partition. All of these eighty cases are reprinted entire from the reports, with the original pagination, including arguments of counsel, and, in the boundary cases, the recorded field-notes of the surveyors. The only thing lacking to give this collection the maximum of utility is a brief index-digest, which, it is hoped, may later be supplied.

Mindful of his missionary purpose, the editor has prefixed about 550 pages of cases upon topics designed to place this exalted exercise of our

¹ A third volume of *Analyses* has been added, but arrives just as the above review is going to press.

high court's jurisdiction in its proper setting. They deal with the nature of the union of the states, the scope of judicial power under the Constitution and its relation to legislative and executive power, the immunity of states from private suit, and suits against state officials affecting states. These cases are not always printed in full, but nothing of importance is omitted, and each section is enriched by a page or more of pithy introductory extracts to illustrate and summarize its topics, drawn from a wide range of political, legal, and historical reading. Their variety and aptness are most flattering to the editor's erudition.

The Supreme Court of the United States began its career as an arbiter between the states under far more promising conditions than could attend the inauguration of any like international tribunal to-day, but even its august history bears the marks of evolution. In 1821 Virginia, on grounds of state sovereignty, vehemently denied the court's appellate jurisdiction over a defendant convicted of violating a state statute alleged to infringe an act of Congress. In 1917 the attorney general of the same state prayed the same court for a mandamus to compel the legislature of a sister state to levy a tax to pay its judicially declared debt to Virginia. A hundred years of even a rudimentary League of Nations might bridge a wider gap.

Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College 1887-1917. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. ix, 248. \$2.50.)

THROUGH the years from the days of colonial origins to the present, across the continent from sea to sea, English America has been the classical land of idealistic enterprises. In the plentitude of vacant land, all sorts of groups have found the opportunity for the expression of ideals which could not be fully and freely realized in the older settled communities. Many of these utopias had a brief day and ceased to be; others lived for a time with their ideals only partly fulfilled. The Quaker experiment ran a course of threescore years of success and then broke down as a practical enterprise. But whatever their fortune or fate they are fully worthy of study and report. They have their place of varying influence and importance, not only in their day but also for the future. The Quaker experiment, like the Puritan, has left a heritage of experience, available and valuable alike to the practical statesman and the intellectual reformer, of what is attainable in the application of idealistic considerations to a world of practical necessities. "As all idealistic attempts have their lessons either of adoption or avoidance", says Dr. Sharpless, "this one may be worthy of recording." But though the many experiments have passed into history as practical efforts, their spiritual vitality is not to be ignored. They have left a decided impress upon the formation and content of American idealism. The Quaker principles of political and religious liberty, of plain dealing, of service

to society, of the just treatment of backward peoples, and the stern hatred of war, have become essential items in the American programme of ideals. The same spirit which moved the Friends has moved society, slowly working toward those ideals which inspired the Quakers.

Dr. Sharpless has for his theme the practical unfolding of Quaker principles as revealed in the public careers of the dominant provincial leaders, all of them more or less of idealists and very conscious of the fact. He has chosen for his purpose William Penn, Thomas and David Lloyd, James Logan, Isaac Morris, father and son, James Kinsey, Israel Pemberton and his sons, Israel and James, and John Dickinson. Incidental light is thrown upon other figures. An especial value is attached to the volume because it deals with a type of history of the colonial period too little appreciated. There is no fault to be found with the major emphasis placed upon the flowering of institutions, but it has been a fault that so little interest has been shown for the lives of the colonial statesmen who in the several colonies formed the issues and supplied the leadership which made possible the transition from colony to commonwealth. It is a fact which looms large in the history of the several colonies in the generations prior to the Revolution that a political and social aristocracy was in control. This volume, while a separate chapter is given to each of the several personalities, does not lack continuity. The long, overlapping, and intimately interwoven careers of these men cover very well the political history of the colony during the neglected middle period prior to the Stamp Act.

For seventy years the colony, consciously conceived as a "holy experiment" in the principles of political and religious liberty, was controlled by the Quakers. They began as the governing body and continued in power by a safe margin even though they became a decreasing minority in the population. In turn the Quaker power was largely exercised by an inner circle of city Quakers. They filled the high offices of state, and they were bound together by ties of marriage, social intercourse, and religious fellowship. After all the colony did not suffer from the supremacy of a select group of sectarians. Although in practice the state and church were identified, the Quakers did not forge political weapons for the supremacy of one creed. Political and religious equality was not only the rule, but the practice. The select group maintained its leadership by virtue of strong personal character, by training, by ability, and with the support of the people. Even with the access of wealth which brought leisure and luxuries, the Quaker leaders and people did not fall away from the high ideals which they professed. They gave willingly of their time, strength, and ability to the general good of the colony. There were some who in order to see their ideals worked into practice were willing to realize them gradually as occasion permitted. But the majority repudiated such compromise and as inflexible idealists finally withdrew from active political life to keep their ideals unsullied from the world.

Dr. Sharpless writes in a spirit sympathetic with Quaker ideals and efforts, and this is proper. But he is not a mere eulogist or apologist. He is not unmindful of the faults and weaknesses of the Quaker position, and he does not gloss over their divisions and quarrels. His book is a sound, substantial piece of interpretation, based upon a good knowledge of the materials of provincial history and a fine understanding of the Quaker ideals. His book is a most welcome addition to the history of the colony. Recently his hand has been stilled by death, but his sound work through long years as an educator and historian is bound to live long.

W. T. Root.

Maine: a History. Edited by LOUIS CLINTON HATCH, Ph.D. In three volumes. (New York: American Historical Society.¹ 1919. Pp. 936.)

THE bulk and external appearance of these handsome volumes may at first sight arouse unpleasant recollections of the character of many former productions in the field of state and local history. A very brief examination, however, will show that Dr. Hatch has produced a state history that is accurate, complete, and readable.

The greater part of the first two volumes is the personal work of Dr. Hatch and, as he points out in his preface, largely a political history of the state since its admission to the Union. The colonial era has already been fully treated by Williamson, Burrage, and others, and no attempt has been made to duplicate their work. The author has thereby avoided the fault so common in local histories, of overemphasis on earlier and sometimes trivial matters. Fannie H. Eckstrom contributes a chapter on the Indians of Maine, while Edgar E. Smith and John F. Sprague discuss, respectively, the eastern and northeastern boundary questions. The interest and effectiveness of these latter studies would have been greatly increased by maps of the disputed area. The lack of a map of the state is felt in several other parts of the work.

Dr. Hatch's treatment of political history is chronological rather than interpretative, and if the reader sometimes feels that undue attention is paid to national politics, it is well to remember the part played by Maine politicians in affairs at Washington. It would be hard indeed to separate the two fields when it is remembered that Bradbury, Fessenden, Hamlin, Blaine, Reed, Frye, Dingley, and a score of lesser leaders were active and influential in both.

The third volume is the joint production of several authors who contribute chapters on various economic and social topics. These are

¹ [The editor will not lose any opportunity of pointing out that the commercial company called the American Historical Society has no connection with the American Historical Association; frequent reasons for emphasizing the distinction arise.]

of uneven merit. The best is perhaps Professor Wilmot B. Mitchell's chapter on education. Some are decidedly weak, and the volume fails on the whole to present an adequate picture of the economic and social development of the state. Maine agriculture certainly deserves more attention than it has received. An enjoyable and profitable hour, however, can be spent on the brief biographies in the latter part of the volume. Most of these are the work of Dr. Hatch. Maine contributed not only a remarkable group of leaders to the political life of the nation, but in literature, science, education, theology, law, medicine, and business her place is equally high.

From the historian's standpoint these volumes leave something to be desired. Maine was not like many of our states a mere administrative district, bounded by parallels of latitude and longitude, and with the same people, the same life, the same institutions as all her neighbors. She had a distinct individuality. There is an opportunity of which no one has yet taken advantage, to correlate economic, social, and political life. Maine drew most of her people and institutions from Massachusetts, but early in the last century Kendall and other travellers noted the lack of resemblance between parent and offspring. The drunkenness, poverty, and squalor which they mention, the occasional prevalence of religious radicalism, the opposition to banks and turnpike companies, produced the Democratic ascendancy of the earlier years, and the epidemic of Greenbackism forty years ago shows how the same tendencies persisted. Maine shared New England conservatism and frontier radicalism. Anniversary histories, however, must obviously be written with the interests of the largest possible number in mind, and Dr. Hatch's work is a worthy memorial of the one-hundredth year of statehood. It should find a prominent place in the homes, the school-rooms, and the public libraries of the state. Few states have had a more inspiring history or a better source of information in which to study it.

W. A. ROBINSON.

Portraits of American Women. By GAMALIEL BRADFORD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xiii, 276. \$2.50.)

MR. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, who has achieved an enviable success in his biographical studies, has selected for his latest volume eight American women about whom we can well afford to be enlightened. There is an undeniable thinness in the narratives; for while the chosen field is a large one, it offers no pre-eminent figures, and Mr. Bradford does well to follow his own taste, always delicate and discriminating.

Abigail Adams, woman of the world and of affairs; Sarah Alden Ripley, a scholar little known; Mary Lyon, a pioneer in the field of female education; Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of one famous novel, and of several forgotten ones; Margaret Fuller Ossoli, friend and com-

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rade of eminent men; Louisa May Alcott, delight of a bygone generation of children; Frances Willard, apostle of temperance; and Emily Dickinson, author of interesting, if somewhat disputable, verse—this is the group presented to us by a biographer who is at once sympathetic and incapable of exaggerating any claim to distinction.

The most exceptional, and perhaps the most attractive, figure is Mrs. Ripley. She does not seem to belong to her time or place. She does not seem at home with her excellent companions. She was that *rara avis*, a woman who loved knowledge for its own sake; who never wanted to be up and doing, but was content with the life of the intellect; who remained unstirred by political events, even the great event of the Civil War; who mastered the classics when she was a girl, and Spanish when she was seventy; who dared to call the German language "abominable", and who never learned to spell. What a power of analysis in these few words of Emerson's, describing this remarkable woman, whom—to say the truth—he did not wholly love: "She would pardon any vice in another which does not obscure his intellect or deform him as a companion. She knows perfectly well what is right and wrong, but it is not from conscience that she acts, but from a sense of propriety." Boston born, living in Concord, yet Athenian to the core. It is a combination that passes belief and staggers understanding.

Mr. Bradford offers little in the way of literary criticism, because there is no call for it. One can hardly criticize *Little Women*, or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and his description of Emily Dickinson's verse as "clots of fire, shreds of heaven, snatches of eternity", is striking rather than critical. He has, however, a happy art in anecdote, and a real talent for quotation. He tells us how heartily Miss Alcott hated the "vortex of debts, dishpans, and despondency", from which she rescued her family; and also—what we have always suspected—that she "never knew girls, nor liked any", except her sisters. He tells us the delightful story of Miss Willard's saying to a kind, but thoughtless, hostess who offered her a glass of wine: "Madam, two hundred thousand women would lose somewhat of their faith in humanity if I should drink a drop of wine." And he brings Miss Lyon vividly and charmingly before our eyes in the briefest of excerpts. Standing before a mirror to tie her bonnet-strings, this famous educator was heard to say dispassionately: "Well, I may fail of Heaven; but I shall be very much disappointed if I do—very much disappointed."

These are incidents pleasant to recall. There are few biographers who know what to tell and what to leave out as well as does Mr. Bradford. His own comments are humorous and keen. When he says of Emerson, "He was perhaps somewhat limited in the blind longings of the heart", we recognize a masterpiece of understatement.

AGNES REPPLIER.

The Life of John Marshall. By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE. Volume III., *Conflict and Construction, 1800-1815*; volume IV., *The Building of the Nation, 1815-1835*. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 644; xviii, 668. \$10.00.)

IN these two volumes Mr. Beveridge completes his study of the career of the great chief justice. They must be considered the most important part of his task. Here, as in the former volumes, we find evidences of great industry. No incident of Marshall's life is passed over without the most careful research, not only into the incident itself, but into the events out of which it had its origin. Here, also, is the same dramatic touch, the same expression of warm personal admiration, and the same tendency to overstress which heightens effects and presents a glowing picture of the man and his career. The book is our best life of Marshall and one of our most readable books on any phase of our national history. It is particularly interesting for its clear and picturesque description of Marshall's personal character. The author never lets the reader forget the man, his loyal relations with his friends, his fine defense of his ideals, and above all his pure and chivalric affection for his wife. He makes us know and love John Marshall.

Aside from these personal descriptions, this part of the biography deals with Marshall's influence on the development of the Constitution of the United States; and in doing this it becomes a treatise on the political history of the years 1801 to 1835, a period during which the government passed through a critical stage of growth. It was the day of Jeffersonian democracy, so far as the will of the people found expression in elections and congressional enactment. The biographer's task is to show how the chief justice, leading the highest court in the land, set himself against the political tendency of the time and did much to reduce its power. Two methods of presentation were open to his choice. He could describe Marshall as Marshall's supporters saw him, or he could review the whole controversy from both sides and show how the opinion of the nation was formed in the clash of parties. If he followed the first plan he would play the part of the able and skillful advocate, making himself the historian of the man. If he followed the second he would take the judicial attitude, making himself the historian of the people. For a long time modern students and readers have considered the second method the best for a modern historian. They demand that the historian, and the biographer as well, shall present both sides of a question, showing how the event occurred and by what means the opponents justified their positions. Such was the task that confronted Mr. Beveridge. It does not seem to the reviewer that he has met it very fairly. It is true that the demand on him was great, and had he failed partly and succeeded partly he would have our sympathy. But he has failed mostly. From his first chapter he does not describe

in what respect Jefferson considered that he was justified in opposing the assumption of power by the Supreme Court; he does not see the conscientious fears of those who opposed the power of the Second United States Bank; he is not careful to show us why a large number of people loved the states above a strongly unified central government; he does not do Andrew Jackson the justice to believe that he was sincere in his belief that an independent Indian state should not be erected within the jurisdiction of the state of Georgia, and in most other incidents in Marshall's long career he is as much engaged on one side of the controversy as Marshall himself. To this extent his book fails in the detachment that is the finest quality of the historian.

Take the so-called "conspiracy" of Aaron Burr, to which Mr. Beveridge gives 272 of the 1192 pages of text in the two volumes under consideration. Perhaps Marshall's action in reference to this affair is the least creditable part of his career. To many people it seemed in 1807 that Burr was a man broken in morals, as in political fortunes. Alexander Hamilton certainly considered him a man who could not be trusted. Jefferson and Jackson held the same opinion. Documentary evidence proves that he made propositions to British and Spanish agents which in themselves were treasonable. Mr. Beveridge, following Parton and McCaleb, sets aside all this evidence and in no sense admits that there was any doubt of Burr's honest intentions. He says that up to the time Burr took up his Western project, he had never committed "a thoroughly dishonorable act" (III. 287). His first step aside from the paths of virtue was in the lie he told Merry, who is described as so credulous that the reader is tempted to think it was no great wrong to deceive him. If Burr had withheld his impulse to commit falsehoods up to this time, he well made up for it in the two years that followed. By balancing one false statement against another he sought to bring the Western people, the Western leaders, the Spanish minister, and even the administration in Washington into his support. So completely did he immerse himself in intrigue, that it would be a clever man, with the available evidence, who could say with certainty just what was his intention. It would be more in keeping with the rules of good criticism to say that Burr's real intention is still doubtful. Mr. Beveridge has no doubt that he really intended to operate against Spain in Mexico and that to revolutionize Louisiana was not his purpose. Having laid this foundation, he is prepared to defend John Marshall for his effective conduct of the trial in Richmond in Burr's favor. He thus makes an interesting and consistent story—but he leaves the historically minded reader with a feeling that he has lost an opportunity.

In describing the origins of the causes which led to Marshall's great decisions, Mr. Beveridge is at his best. His industry and faculty of clear statement here show forth with great success. He has a remarkable gift for presenting a thing in a few salient sentences. He is never

dull or heavy. He makes the reader think that he knows a great deal more than he tells. It is when one comes to the decisions themselves that one feels a bit of disappointment. He does not characterize the decision in question in sentences that sum up the principles involved tersely and with a keen appreciation of the main facts. His method is to introduce a number of short phrases—or sentences sometimes—quoted from Marshall. Out of such a mosaic one does not get a clear idea of the principle involved, nor the flavor of Marshall's splendid reasoning. In this respect he is unlike the great chief justice himself, who had a surpassing faculty of bold characterization of ideas. The biographer is to be placed with those writers whose expression runs to the particular rather than to the general.

One of Mr. Beveridge's most interesting chapters is on Marshall as the Supreme Conservative (vol. IV., ch. 9). Perhaps its chief significance is in the fact that it goes a long way toward explaining Marshall's views of the Constitution. Here we see the chief justice doffing his judicial robes and playing the part of legislator, in the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829-1830. The chief questions before this body were those relating to democracy against oligarchy. Since the Revolution Virginia, like most of the states that had formerly been royal provinces, had existed under a constitution in which the state and county governments were controlled by small groups of families knit together by personal and property ties. The rising tide of popular government was demanding popular suffrage and the election of governors, judges, and county officials by the people; against such reforms the chief justice used his strongest efforts. In view of such a position it is interesting to ask how much of his stern defense of the authority of the Supreme Court was due to instinctive conservatism. In most of his great cases, as in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the *Dartmouth College* case, and *Fletcher v. Peck*, he was striking at the popular party as much as he was building up the authority of the Union. The biographer does not discuss this question as such, but he allows his reader to see in how much it is present in his mind.

In many of the minor points of historical writing Mr. Beveridge wins our great admiration. His foot-notes are valuable and most informing. In them we find much that is exceedingly entertaining. He has prepared an analytical index that leaves little to be desired. His composition has been carefully pruned of some inept expressions which in the first and second volumes jarred the sensibilities of persons who dislike words and phrases not used by the best authors. His proof-reading shows great care. He has, in fact, written one of the considerable books of the time, and as a historian he deserves high esteem by all who demand a type of history that the man of good but not technical taste will enjoy in the reading.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs, 1807-1844. Edited by REGINALD C. McGRANE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Cincinnati. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xxix, 366. \$6.00.)

THE mass of papers out of which Mr. McGrane has taken the material in his modest volume exists in the Library of Congress in 113 folio volumes, besides Biddle's letter-books in six volumes, and in a collection of private papers of uncertain quantity which still exists in the hands of the Biddle family. Under such conditions the task of selection is difficult. Whatever is taken, much must be left that would be interesting to the general reader. The reader must not expect too much from the title. Professor Catterall's *Second Bank of the United States* contains as many words on the bank under Biddle as Mr. McGrane gives us during the same period in Biddle's correspondence; and through the fact that Catterall is taking only the essential things in the correspondence we get from him a larger amount of Biddle himself on the bank. For example, Mr. McGrane did not find space to include Biddle's plan submitted to Jackson in 1829 for paying off the public debt if the bank were rechartered, which Catterall presents in a digested form in a well-filled page. As a presentation of the events of Jackson's administration the selection of letters is necessarily inadequate.

In another sense, however, it is extremely interesting and valuable. It presents the reader who knows his American history a fair view of Biddle the man, and shows him in his relation with some of the chief events of the time. The controversy through which he lived obscured his personality. He was not as bad as his enemies said nor as good as Jackson's opponents thought. He was a man of excellent mental capacity, devoted to the one institution with which he was connected, courageous in battle, never despairing, and possessed of the power to make others do as he wished. "We should have done badly without him", said Webster, referring to the struggle to pass the charter through Congress in 1832. "His address and ability in satisfying the doubts of his friends, softening the opposition of enemies, and explaining whatever needed explanation have been an important cause in producing the result which has, so far, attended the Bill" (p. 193). He was, also, a man of broad culture, and a genial and pleasant companion. Few American men of business have been more admirable in social and cultural relations.

On the other hand, Nicholas Biddle did not differ from the average man in his ideas of political conduct. He did not believe that the bank should consider the politics of the prospective appointees when naming the directors; but he was hardly embarked on his campaign for a new charter when he began to appoint Jackson men in several branches. He did not understand Andrew Jackson, assuming continually that he could

flatter an illiterate old man into complaisance. Like many another man who sat high on society's pyramid, he forgot that a man is not necessarily unintelligent because of being uneducated. He never understood democratic government, assuming that he could educate it by means of pamphlets and newspapers after it was already fully embarked in a controversy. He finally lost full self-control, and when the bank was denied a charter stopped making loans with the deliberate purpose of forcing the Jackson men to yield to the bank. "Our only safety", he said, January 27, 1834, "is in pursuing a steady course of firm restriction—and I have no doubt that such a course will ultimately lead to restoration of the currency and the recharter of the Bank" (p. 219). Jackson has often been condemned because he was taken in by Samuel Swartwout of New York; but Mr. McGrane's book shows that Biddle was equally deceived (pp. 213, 217). There is much to show that Biddle was overconfident of his ability to utilize other men for his own interest while thinking they could not see his design. As an illustration of this trait we have his fancy in May, 1838, that he could get Van Buren to relinquish his hostility to the bank and in fact restore the deposits without giving it a federal charter. The scheme was laid before Poinsett in three letters, and the outline of the plan was revealed in one of them (pp. 273-276). He was bitterly opposed to the subtreasury, which he called "the newest and therefore the favorite foolery", and he boasted that it was his opposition that defeated the bill in 1838. In many ways we get from Mr. McGrane's book most interesting glimpses of Biddle the unpractical and rash politician; for after 1833 he was without disguise a participant in the political contests of the day. For the purpose here indicated, of giving the reader a vivid and informing view of the leading characteristics of this interesting man, with some new light on his relations to the history of the day, this volume of correspondence is very successful; but the student who looks deeply into the subject will have to consult the original papers. Mr. McGrane's well-selected volume, however, lacks an adequate topical index, and sometimes the notes do not explain the subjects to which the letters refer as fully as the intelligent reader has a right to expect.

The Sequel of Appomattox: a Chronicle of the Reunion of the States. By WALTER LYNWOOD FLEMING. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 322.)

The Cleveland Era: a Chronicle of the New Order in Politics. By HENRY JONES FORD. [*Id.*, vol. XLIV.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 232.)

The Boss and the Machine: a Chronicle of the Politicians and Party Organization. By SAMUEL P. ORTH. [*Id.*, vol. XLIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 203.)

THE three volumes having to do with the course of our history after the Civil War in the *Chronicles of America* series which Allen Johnson has planned and directed with so much insight, Fleming's on Reconstruction, Ford's on the Cleveland period, and Orth's on party management or mismanagement, are incisive and well-condensed statements on their respective subjects. The general plan, and the external characteristics of the series as a whole, have been sufficiently set forth in reviews of earlier volumes.

As for Professor Fleming's volume on Reconstruction, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, little need be said, except that it is a bringing together of that writer's previous researches in this field. Here are the fruits of the studies which have led to his *History of Alabama*, his *Documentary History*, and his various writings and editings on the subject of the Ku Klux Klan. We have no higher authority on this theme and may likely not see another who shall approach it with his devotion. That he is a partizan he never tried to conceal, but none can come out of any investigation of Southern conditions after the war, no matter how cursory, without a disgust which will be reflected on the written page. To justify such abominations would completely condemn one's historical instincts as well as the moral sense, and to weigh the evidence with an even hand will always lead inevitably to a narrative that to many on the Northern side a little while ago, if not now, has seemed unfriendly.

Professor Fleming gives a summary of the South's condition at the war's end and then traces the havoc wrought in the mess by negro suffrage, Loyal Leagues, carpet-baggers, scalawags, and their props and stays, the radical hierarchy at Washington. On this background our Illuminati arise, the shadows a-horse in ghostly robes riding through the night, who afford the only touches of romance to that whole lurid panorama that we call Reconstruction. The more we know of this era in our history the gladder we can be that it is now far behind us. That the grand and heroic business of abolishing slavery should have been wrapped up with such infamy is proof of how sin and glory may be near allied. As a succinct account of what he and other investigators have been able to glean on this subject in the past few years Professor Fleming's volume may be commended without reserve.

The period of our political history from Grant to McKinley is ably covered by Professor Ford. His volume contains an account of party movements and their effect upon executive and congressional action from 1876 or 1878 onward. The essay not unfittingly bears the title *The Cleveland Era*. For while this sturdy President had not come into place where he could put his mark upon the period in hand until 1885, it was

the evil aftermath of the war, of many years' accumulation, which it was his duty to clear away. This is his priceless service to the nation, and all may see now, if they might not at that day, as witnesses of and perhaps partizans in the asperities of this time, how indispensable it was for us to have a broad-shouldered inflexible figure of his type to stem the tide of autocratic privilege which had swept over and was bearing down our institutions.

Professor Ford is a ripe student of the questions which he discusses, and one turns over his pages with confidence in their authority. It is of necessity but a skeleton for the period, which is still open ground for the historian. But material is coming forward. Professor Ford already is able to indicate a considerable number of volumes bearing upon the years with which he deals, and his orderly outline of events will lay later writers under heavy obligations to him. The personal sketch of Cleveland himself is vivid. While admiring, it is marked by no fulsomeness of eulogy. Nor are Cleveland's policies accepted for unreserved praise. Indeed at some points in the discussion of his part in stopping the tide of error on the money question, which so nearly overwhelmed the nation, during his second term, Professor Ford will be held to have done rather scant justice to Mr. Cleveland. In the midst of calumny which aimed its shafts at him from every quarter, he stood his ground, a gallant soldier of the state, winning the right to our everlasting respect and gratitude. It is this quiet magistrate who, in no uniform, under no flaunting banners, was given the opportunity to restore the country, after long going astray, to something like its proper course. His achievement may be wanting in romantic appeal, but his example can be studied at this day and in future days with vast advantage. We see in Professor Ford's chapters some of the manly vigor and honest worth of this valuable guide and mentor of the commonwealth.

Mr. Orth's volume on *The Boss and the Machine* is at least conceived in a worthy spirit. So much one can say of it. He exposes and condemns a good deal which fastened itself upon our politics during the era of materialism that followed the Civil War. His a-priorist dicta about governments and parties, like other portions of his narrative, belong to the magazine rather than the page of history. He is betrayed into a good deal which is unhistorical by going to flippant sources and by an eager habit of adjectival writing meant for him whom we sometimes call the "general reader". There are references to the overthrow of Tweed in the early seventies and other scandals attached to municipal government in this country down to date. The Credit Mobilier, the Whiskey frauds, the Belknap impeachment, and other outgrowths of the Grant administrations are recalled. The prostitution of the civil service until federal offices became the personal property of senators and representatives in Congress, the slow progress of reform, the rise of the "boss" in the states, are topics which are treated with some understanding in the volume.

To compass such a subject in an essay of these proportions was in all probability a difficult task. Much was to be brought together, and it is perhaps not remarkable that the author's success has been meagre. He has tried, one can well believe, to draw conclusions over too long a time. There are allusions to early American history and some, too, to a period that we have just finished reading about in the daily newspapers. To have kept more strictly to a few years when the "boss" and the machine, in the sense in which we think of these things, really were born, *i.e.*, after the Civil War, and to have revealed them to us, battenning on offices, tariffs, land-grant railroads, and public contracts, until law and public sentiment put them in some degree, if not entirely, into the background, would have been a wiser assignment to duty and a work easier to perform.

When another edition shall be called for Jim Fisk's name should be spelled correctly—not Fisk-*e*. Of conditions in Philadelphia, bad as they one time were, it may be rather more than the truth to say that "dogs, cats, horses, anything living or dead with a name served the purpose" of the registrars in making up fraudulent lists of voters for election day. Those Pennsylvanians who regard Cameron and Quay as representative types of their citizenship could profitably read Mr. Orth's descriptions of the parts that these two men played in the corruption of the American system of government.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

The Liberal Republican Movement. By EARLE DUDLEY ROSS, Ph.D., sometime Fellow in American History, Cornell University, Professor of History, Illinois Wesleyan University. [Cornell Studies in History and Political Science.] (New York: Henry Holt. 1919. Pp. xi, 267. \$1.80.)

THIS is in all respects a praiseworthy book—comprehensive, thorough, clear, unbiassed, and moderate in its judgments. It is a result of untiring research undertaken with an unprejudiced mind, and its conclusions are put forth with such admirable restraint that no one of the participants in that most sensational episode in our political history, did any one of them still survive, could take offense at the way in which his own acts and those of his associates are characterized.

The work covers much ground. In order to make the events of 1872 intelligible it was necessary to explain the many causes that led to the political revolt—the admitted shortcomings of General Grant's administration, the free-trade propaganda, not entirely unsuccessful, by a handful of idealists in politics, and the mutually contradictory motives on one side of a horde of displaced government employees and disappointed office-seekers, on the other of a group of eager civil-service reformers, years ahead of their time. The main part of the work is a history of the preliminaries of the Cincinnati convention, of its intrigues and re-

sults, and of the campaign that ended in disaster. The influence of the Liberal party—if it may be called a party—in the politics of the country after November, 1872, until it disappeared or was vaporized in 1876, is given with full detail in the closing chapter.

It would be easy for an extreme Republican partizan to ridicule the entire movement; to urge that the reforms aimed at by Carl Schurz, David A. Wells, Jacob D. Cox, and others could never make such headway in popular interest as to lead to a reorganization of parties; to speak scornfully of the low political character of those who ultimately controlled the convention; to enlarge upon the political hypocrisy of the Democratic party in its pretense of accepting the results of the war; to point out the futility of expecting competent government by so heterogeneous a coalition; and to make merry over the conspicuous disqualifications of Horace Greeley for the office of President.

On the other hand a historian approaching the subject from the opposite point of view might fairly emphasize Grant's failure through inexperience as a statesman and his toleration of abuses; the startling scandals during his administration; the inexcusable misuse of the civil service under the spoils system, even to the support of one faction over another in his own party; the evils of misgovernment in the South by ignorant negroes and irresponsible whites; the severity of the military support of the reconstruction policy of Congress; and—this for the benefit of the "revenue reform" fraction of the opposition—the high protective tariff.

There would have been a large measure of truth and justice in every one of those arguments, on both sides. It is to Dr. Ross's credit that he recognizes them all as entering into the decision of the voters upon the whole question, but he exaggerates none of them. The tone of political morals at that time was deplorably low. The abuse of the civil service aroused little inclination toward reform in Republican circles, still less or none at all among Democrats. The Southern situation was intolerable, but the alternative was to continue the existing policy, with all its evils and failures, or to yield the control of the states of the late confederacy to those who had been fighting four years to take those states out of the Union.

The result of the election, only momentarily in doubt, in the late summer of 1872, was really inevitable. There was neither unity nor enthusiasm on the part of the opposition. Large numbers of Democrats supported the ticket merely as a matter of party regularity, or did not support it at all. The sincere reformers could not pretend to hope much from success with Greeley at the head of the ticket.

There is room for discussion whether Adams or Trumbull, or some other candidate, would have polled more votes than were given to Greeley. But beyond question Greeley was a grotesque candidate and would have made a grotesque President if he had been elected. His

weakness and vanity were amusingly exhibited on his famous speaking tour, the first stumping trip of a regularly nominated candidate for President. The present writer has the authority of one of the three newspaper men who went with him—he travelled in an ordinary car, without a single personal attendant—for saying that on no occasion did he discuss political issues or even refer to them. He talked on local history and farm topics. He may have been actuated by a consciousness of the mongrel make-up of the forces behind him, causing a fear that he would give offense to some constituent part of it if he ventured to announce his own principles, or by a characteristic notion that he could achieve success as a farmers' candidate. The three reporters used to meet after his "rallies" and concoct a summary of his speech, which Mr. Greeley revised before it was sent.

That Greeley did not make more serious inroads into the Republican ranks than he did, for there was certainly much reform sentiment in the country that did not make itself manifest in the election returns, was undoubtedly due to the stronger sentiment among Republicans that the fruits of the war were in danger and must not be surrendered. Dr. Ross does not bring out that agency in producing the result as clearly and emphatically as he might. Moreover, in speaking of the aid to General Grant's cause by the "interests", a word which he puts in quotation-marks, he seems to imply a plutocratic influence exerted by a few very wealthy men. In reality business interests generally, without quotation-marks, recognized the fact that national financial honor and an honest currency policy were safer in Republican than in Democratic hands, a judgment that was soon afterward, and for a long time afterward, proved to be sound.

So there is no mystery whatever about the result of the 1872 election. It would have been a miracle if it had resulted differently.

Dr. Ross's treatment of the period 1872-1876 is as thorough in the citation of political facts and utterances as the rest of his work. Although it is so full, he seems to have missed altogether the controlling cause of the Republican disaster in 1874. The country seemed quite prosperous in 1872. The very next year occurred the Jay Cooke failure and the nation-wide panic that left the country in distress for six full years. That reverse more than anything else turned the floating vote against the party that had been in power for fourteen years. It also accounts largely for the—shall we describe it as the narrow escape of the Republicans from defeat in 1876? The reform Republicans—not all of them, for Schurz supported Hayes—did rally to Tilden, but their numbers were few and their influence was unimportant.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896

By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., D. Litt. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xiii, 484. \$2.75.)

MR. RHODES'S new eighth volume is not a fair continuation of his memorable five volumes on the Civil War, or even of the sixth and seventh in which he gave a partial picture of the next dozen years. It aims to cover the space of twenty years (1877-1896), whereas his first five volumes deal with little over fifteen (1850-1865). Its abbreviated scale of treatment affects both contents and manner of presentation; there is no room for extended discussion of any theme, or for inclusion of a fair representation of events. The eighties of the last century were less the aftermath of the Civil War than the constructive years of a new society, and can have only a defective perspective when seen as incidental to that catastrophe.

From the internal evidence of the volume, it seems probable that volume VIII. is not what Mr. Rhodes would have desired to do had years and physical strength allowed. Since the seventh volume appeared in 1906 he has printed several monographs upon the period covered by the present volume. In his "Railroad Strikes of 1877" (1911), his "Molly Maguires" (1910), and his surveys of the Hayes (1909) and Cleveland (1911) administrations, not to mention his paper on the Republican conventions of 1880 and 1884, he has given us finished fragments from his workshop. These papers reappear in volume VIII., showing slight trace of remodelling as parts of a general history. In several places in the text (pp. 15, 24, 90, 216) he has preferred to show by foot-notes the year in which portions were composed, rather than revise the whole to the date of publication. There are twenty chapters in the new volume, in at least nine of which he states that he has had made for his use, and has used more or less, briefs of facts or critical examinations of sources. Once at least he notes a criticism by an assistant (p. 181); and once he incorporates the whole brief as a fine-print portion of his text (p. 438). Mr. D. M. Matteson and Mr. H. E. Bourne are his competent and admitted assistants.

There is no reason why a writer should not use openly, as Mr. Rhodes does, his own by-products and the contributions of a corps of helpers; but the result of such historical method is unlikely to be volumes that reveal unity of historical construction or the ripe judgment and point of view that come only to the writer who has done his own selecting and discarding among the sources. It would seem that volume VIII. owes more to the author's desire to fulfill a promise to write it than to the fact that he was ready to write it.

Rarely do the related facts in this volume appear to have meaning or to be parts of a coherent structure. The United States was in these years adjusting itself to the effects of internal communication, new conditions of manufacture, new areas of organized frontier governments,

new mobs of immigrants, and falling prices. The extension of government activities, the problems of control of business and society in the interest of the individual, the tariff and currency panaceas for prosperity, are all grounded upon the adjustments that were being made in this decade. Machine politics were emerging as inevitable consequence of misunderstood and uncontrolled social life. But in Mr. Rhodes's narrative, so far as non-political facts are mentioned, they are unrelated phenomena.

Mr. Rhodes was living in the fullness of successful manhood in the years here covered. What he has recalled of his contemporary opinions constitutes the recollection of a clear-headed and generous-minded observer, who found no fault with the philosophy of the school that brought forth McKinley and Hanna, without being obsessed by it; and who only later and partially learned through study to recognize the existence of the problems of labor and social betterment. The labor upheavals that inspired *The Breadwinners* in John Hay, and *Democracy* in Henry Adams and his group, left in Mr. Rhodes a vividness of recollection that procures for these episodes an unearned increment of pages. Stopping short of McKinley's inauguration, he fails to show the foundations of the silver movement and the Populist party, with the result that his picture of the second Cleveland term lacks its background. Yet he fails also to explain the emergence of the tariff issue and the identification of the Republican party with it, although these facts are vital to the period of his choice.

Mr. Rhodes has probably not broadened his historical repute by this volume, but he has not ceased to be sagacious along the lines of his experience and attainment. Among the rare qualities of his earlier volumes was the outstanding saneness of his practical judgments upon historic facts and personalities. Where this volume ceases to be tested history it often becomes retrospect, and the author passes judgment upon facts of his own experience. It is worth while to have preserved for historical use an "Annals of the Eighties" by one of the greatest historians of the decade, even though the "Annals" is of subsequent writing. The summaries of presidential elections, the brief character-sketches of presidents, the terminal paragraphs in which he sums up his views, whether of a militia system, the Irish-Americans, or Henry George, must be treated with respect by any historian of this period.

No inaccuracies of great importance have been noted. The Hubbell letter was published not a week but two weeks after Brady's retirement (p. 136, note); the *Autobiography* of T. C. Platt is too unreliable to be a safe foundation (p. 144) for a categorical assertion of what Garfield said to Conkling; the index mentions neither Dorsey nor the Star Routes, nor does the text discuss them, in spite of their important bearing upon Garfield's politics; many economists would doubt whether "overtrading" (p. 395) was the main cause of the panic of 1893, and

would ascribe a leading place to apprehensions respecting the currency; in listing the better elements among the Blaine supporters of 1884 (p. 211) it might have been mentioned that to the anti-Cameron group in Pennsylvania Blaine was a real reform candidate; the Hawaiian negotiation is deferred, in the chapter on Harrison (p. 374) "for subsequent treatment", and is again put off, in the chapter dealing with Cleveland's diplomacy (p. 443), with the comment that "it may be better considered when the story reaches the annexation of what were known in our school geographies as the Sandwich Islands". The story fails to reach the annexation. Does this mean that a volume IX. is to be expected?

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Intrigues et Diplomaties à Washington, 1914-1917. Par G. LECHARTIER. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1919. Pp. viii, 302. 4 fr.)

THIS is a brief, accurate, vivacious, and comprehensive account of German plots, intrigues, and diplomacy in the United States prior to April, 1917, and of their effect on the American public and on relations with Germany. The author, Washington correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, knows America and its people and is familiar with men and events. He describes with humor the social life of the national capital and Count von Bernstorff's place in it, his account of the *télé-salons*, comparable to the telephone and telegraph in transmitting political news, being particularly amusing.

Count von Bernstorff and President Wilson are depicted as antagonists in a mighty duel, the immediate prize being the sympathy and support of American public opinion, the ultimate stake nothing less than the liberty of the world. The struggle was unremitting, with poignant changes of fortune, enlisting every capacity and effort of both contestants, one of whom fought with hypocrisy and perfidy, the other with integrity and sense of justice.

Count von Bernstorff's superior diplomatic talents, his unusual aptitude in conceiving plots and amazing skill in directing their simultaneous execution, are described at some length. He often acted contrary to the wishes and against the will of his government, but always for its best interests, and the greatest diplomatic error of Germany was the obstinacy of the Wilhelmstrasse in not perceiving the genius and following the counsel of its ambassador.

A brief history of German propaganda prior to 1914 begins with von Holleben and asserts that partisans were found among certain German-Americans, among the Irish-Americans who were anti-English and anti-French, and among many of the Jews, ancient and mortal enemies of Russia and bound to Germany by strong financial ties. The propaganda extended to American schools and universities.

Count von Bernstorff took up the work on his arrival here, labored

with patience and energy to promote friendly relations with Germany, established close personal relations with influential congressmen and, when he went to Potsdam in the spring of 1914, believed that the position of himself and his government in the United States was impregnable. This impression he conveyed to the diplomats of Wilhelmstrasse and to the Kaiser himself, but underestimated one factor in the impending situation, his adversary, the President of the United States.

The six or seven chief purposes which Count von Bernstorff and his aids endeavored to carry out and the plots and intrigues which they employed to that end are adequately presented. The interest of the narrative is enhanced by a well-prepared setting for certain of the events, by anecdotes and accessory incidents.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* is narrated with dramatic effect in a separate chapter, which includes an account, made vivid by wealth of local color, of the effect of the catastrophe in the United States, the action of the German-Americans and of Count von Bernstorff and his staff.

The documents published by the New York *World* (August, 1915) showing the plans of the German ambassador to control the American press, to subsidize writers and circulate cinematograph films, had a decisive effect, M. Lechartier believes, on public sentiment in the United States. They turned attention from England, caused an outburst of indignation against Germany, and placed the German ambassador and his cause in the most critical position down to that time.

After tracing the events which led to the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, the author describes the picturesque scenes and narrates the momentous happenings which accompanied the rupture. The East he found ready for war, the Middle West indifferent, and the Far West preoccupied by a fear of Japan which was caused largely by German influence and machinations. The publication of the Zimmermann note had in this region an immense and immediate effect. It shook the West out of its lethargy, silenced the pacifists, and caused demands for immediate action.

In the literature of its subject M. Lechartier's book is unique. Like two other brief histories, *America Entangled* by John Price Jones and *German Plots and Intrigues* issued by the Committee on Public Information, it presents the essential facts concerning German intrigue in the United States; but it includes further a discussion of many essential points in the diplomatic exchanges between the government of Germany and the United States, analyses of American public opinion, and vivid pictures of historic events preceding our entrance into the war. The author has conceived his subject broadly and produced a meritorious work.

E. E. SPERRY.

The American Army in the European Conflict. By Colonel DE CHAMBRUN and Captain DE MARENCHES. Translated from the French by the Authors. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. 436. \$3.00.)

THE authors of *The American Army in the European Conflict* have endeavored to cover the subject in thirteen chapters, which places it within the reading reach of the busy American; and as it is written from a popular viewpoint, rather than a technical military one, it should appeal to the average reader.

It is to be regretted that no preface was written telling who the authors are, the position they occupied relative to our army, which gave them their viewpoints and facts, and what they proposed to write. A little later (ch. I., p. 5) this is given in their own words: "It must be our rule—except in describing certain material organizations where official statistics are given—to speak only of those things which have come under our personal observation and which occurred upon our own theatre of war."

Thus the title actually covers a much greater scope of the part played in the war by the United States than is described by the authors under the title. While they touch incidentally on the causes of our entering the war, the tremendous effort on our part to raise an army by the draft act, to maintain, equip, house, train, and transport it across the sea, their major effort is descriptive of our organization of supplies, munitions, and materials in France, and our training and fighting with the co-operation and assistance of the French and English who held the enemy in check until we could be got ready to strike those blows that, in conjunction with our allies, ended the war.

The facts which they present are beyond dispute, and the presentation is singularly free of any discussion of the friction which arose between us and our allies over the methods in which the necessary co-operation between us was effected.

They fail to visualize the fact that we entered and carried on our part of the war in the spirit of the Crusaders; that our allies and Germany were worn out and sick of war; that our freshness, vitality, and energy, combined with our numbers, not only forced the Allies to take the offensive, but also raised the morale of their entire armies, from the private to the field-marshal, to the belief that the Germans were *not* supermen and unconquerable, but might be overcome by a process of years in wearing them down to exhaustion—and this belief assumed no proportions until September of 1918; and *then* forecast no such sudden capitulation as occurred in November. In 1917, the French and English were incredulous of our doing more than, by our numbers, assisting them in breaking even with the German army, and they plainly showed that they had no faith either in the power of our men to fight or of our officers to function as a directing and fighting staff.

The narrative is unbalanced in treating so much in detail the minor actions of the first few divisions arriving in France. It is unfair to the many other divisions whose gallant and intrepid fighting was equal to that of their forerunners in every respect; the effect rather throws the whole picture out of focus, but emphasizes the unconscious effect upon the French authors of the prowess of these divisions of which they expected so little.

The viewpoint of the entire narrative is that of a staff officer at General Pershing's headquarters, and therefore opinions advanced by the authors are not of historical value, as they do not reflect that of the American army as a whole. The effort to credit the offensive spirit of the American soldier to General Pershing's inculcation and initiative is not well taken. It is an inherent characteristic of the American, and has been since the days of the Revolutionary War. No conception or effort of General Pershing ever added one jot or tittle to it, though he himself, with the same spirit, directed, guided, and gave it full play.

On page 189 the authors state: "Of all the constituent elements of which modern armies are made up the artillery is the most complex as to organization, training, and equipment." Apparently the officers, being artillery officers, have given a biased opinion and have overlooked the fact that modern infantry is armed with rifles, bayonets, hand-grenades, automatic rifles, machine-guns, Stokes mortars, and so-called one-pound artillery pieces—eight offensive weapons, each operated by individuals, whose efforts as individuals and as groups of individuals must be organized, equipped, trained, and fought with direction and cohesion against the infantry of the enemy similarly armed and also against his artillery fire; whereas the artillery functions almost free from the effects of all of these weapons in the enemy's hands, except his artillery fire, and manipulates the mechanism of but one machine, the rifled cannon. As a matter of fact, our artillery, in a proportionate time, three months' training, became relatively more proficient than our infantry.

Page 61, note 16, shows two artillery brigades arriving in Europe in 1917, when as a matter of fact the artillery brigades of the 1st, 26th, and 42nd Divisions arrived in Europe in that year and possibly that of the 2nd Division. Page 117, "marched in defile" should read "marched in review". Page 128, paragraph 5, line 1, "decongest" should read "relieve the congestion in".

There are four sketches showing the position of the American army in the various phases of its operations, and a convenient index for ready reference.

British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854. By J. L. MORISON, Professor of Colonial History in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, late Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons. 1919. Pp. xi, 369. 8 sh. 6 d.)

THE author of this study belongs to the younger school of Canadian historians. Canada has had more than enough of the popular type of general histories. She has long been sorely in need of the scientific investigation of particular movements and events. The present study admirably satisfies that need in respect to one of the most critical periods in Canadian constitutional history. The volume is indeed thrice blest; it is felicitous in expression, scholarly in treatment, and broad-minded in its interpretation of public affairs.

Professor Morison has handled his original material with unusual skill. His selections from the Bagot and the Elgin-Grey correspondence have been made with rare discrimination. But unfortunately he has failed to make full use of some of the more important secondary sources of information, such as the publications of the Ontario Historical Society and the newspapers of the day. The latter were perhaps the most important factor in the development of the constitutional life of these primitive communities, yet the author has seen fit to use them but sparingly, and even then has drawn the most of his data from two or three papers of the same party complexion.

One of the most admirable features of the book is the balance of its parts. Professor Morison has been singularly fortunate in combining the critical with the narrative in his treatment. He has been both a historian and a political scientist. He has been equally successful in bringing out the close interrelation of the personal and economic factors in Canadian history.

The viewpoint of the author is that of a staunch Liberal imperialist. As such, he is able to see both sides of the imperial problem and interpret the British and colonial positions most sympathetically. The chapter on the British colonial policy is perhaps the best piece of analysis in the book. But the very breadth of his imperial outlook sometimes makes him unduly critical of the petty factionalism of colonial politics on the one hand and the stupidity of Tory imperialism on the other.

The same political philosophy likewise colors his estimate of the political leaders of the period. He is inclined to glorify both the character and policy of the chief English and colonial reformers at the expense of their political opponents. Grey, for example, was undoubtedly the most far-seeing imperial statesman of the day; but the liberality of his constitutional principles for the colonies was offset to a large extent by the doctrinaire character of his imperial fiscal theories and also by the didactic nature of his despatches which alienated colonial opinion. The leadership of Baldwin, likewise, was subject to serious limitation. He

rescued colonial liberalism from the stigma of the Mackenzie revolt; he secured the triumph of the principles of responsible government, but he was unable and unwilling to adapt himself to the growth of democratic sentiment in his party and throughout the country. He was in truth a high-minded Whig churchman rather than a leader of modern colonial democracy.

The author's excellent handling of the imperial aspects of Canadian history brings out the more clearly the inadequacy of his consideration of Canadian-American relations. The influence of American life and institutions upon the social, economic, and constitutional development of Canada is scarcely less than that of the mother-country. Canada has not been able to escape from American political influences even though she would. The early history of the country is in many respects a long-drawn-out battle between English Tory and American democratic influences. The struggle resulted in a compromise, but evidences of the triumph of American principles may be seen in the municipal, ecclesiastical, and federal institutions of the country. Professor Morison unfortunately has almost entirely neglected to bring out the reaction of American institutions upon Canadian autonomy and the imperial connection. The failure to give due weight to this phase of Canadian development accounts in large part for the author's incomplete interpretation of the Clear Grit movement and the rise of the Liberal-Conservative party.

His treatment of the movement for Canadian federation is likewise too fragmentary. The desire for a union of the colonies was growing in strength even though it was oftentimes lost sight of in the petty squabbles of the legislature. The question was relatively unimportant at the time, but in the light of subsequent developments it deserved more attention than Professor Morison has seen fit to give to it.

But notwithstanding these limitations, this volume easily stands out as the best contribution to Canadian history in recent years. It is sincerely to be hoped that the author will continue his investigation of this field which he has made so distinctively his own.

C. D. ALLIN.

Jamaica under the Spaniards. Abstracted from the Archives of Seville, by FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A., and JOSEPH L. PIETERSZ. (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica. 1919. Pp. 115. 2 sh.)

THE interest which attaches to this small volume on *Jamaica under the Spaniards* is out of proportion to its size and appearance; it is in keeping, rather, with its value as announcement and token of successful research made in a virgin field for historical investigation. "Hitherto", Mr. Cundall remarks in the preface, "the names of but three Spanish governors of Jamaica have been recorded. To these seventeen others can now be added, making an almost unbroken chain from Esquivel to

Ysassi." This detail is indicative of the relative size of the contribution which Messrs. Cundall and Pietersz (secretary and chairman, respectively, of the Institute) have made to public knowledge of the history of Jamaica from 1493 to the spring of 1660, when Cristobal Ysassi Arnaldo, last Spanish governor, left that island, "naked and on two sticks" for a boat, defeated less, he insisted, by the English than by His Most Catholic Majesty's governors of Cuba.

This book is not a finished product. Indeed, its compilers do not present it as such. Mr. Cundall is aware of the existence of more documents at Seville than have yet been copied, and he looks forward with anticipation to ransacking the archive at Simancas. "In the meantime, it has been thought good to publish" this volume, an abstract of documents copied up to the time when, in the spring of 1917, war interrupted the investigation at Seville, which, however, has been resumed while the book was in press. Its quality should certainly encourage the board of the Institute, and contributors to its research fund, to permit the Institute's active secretary to continue as he has begun, until the main Spanish sources for the history of Jamaica, prior to say 1670, are exhausted. Then indeed that chapter in the history of the island which Mr. Cundall declares this book does not pretend to be, may be written with fairish certainty that it will not be rewritten, nor even much amended by subsequent discoveries sure to be made of isolated documents bearing upon it.

The material at Seville, concerning Jamaica, was found to be comparatively small in quantity; it was also more than usually accessible in that it lay where it should lie, in two *legajos* (54-3-28, 54-3-29) properly labelled "Jamaica", and in the various series of *cedularios*, containing crown communications to the island's authorities. The work now in progress is intended to exhaust these veins, and, finally, to assemble a thousand and one stray documents already located in other sections of the Archive of the Indies.

Jamaica under the Spaniards is divided into four chapters (I., Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries; II., First Half of the Seventeenth Century; III., English Occupation; IV., Cartography). There are three appendixes: a list of the Spanish governors of Jamaica; a statement of the *legajos* consulted at Seville; and an index. The researches made discovered eight heretofore unknown maps of Jamaica, of which four are reproduced in half-tones which correctly suggest that the photographs obtained were gray, partly because the colors of the original maps lent themselves to no greater clearness.

These chapters consist of translations in abstract. Happily, no attempt is made to bridge gaps by surmise. The translations have been carefully made; mistakes are few, and misinterpretations equally scarce (although, p. 24, line 9, his fellow Britishers may fail to recognize the Earl of Cumberland in "Comte Camorlan" who drove the Spanish sol-

diery out of Porto Rico). The foot-notes are especially interesting, in their identifications and comparisons. No time has been wasted on literary style. In brief, the book is, as was said at the beginning, not a finished product, but rather the announcement of a research which is still in progress. Further, it is indication that, once this research is finished, the Institute of Jamaica will have laid before students in Kingston materials from which to write, and that among these students none are more likely than Mr. Cundall and Mr. Pietersz to write, an unassailable history of Jamaica under the Spaniards.

I. A. WRIGHT.

Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias. Por D. GERVASIO DE ARTÍÑANO Y DE GALDÁCANO. (Barcelona: Oliva de Vilanova. 1917. Pp. 350. 12 pesetas.)

SEÑOR GERVASIO DE ARTÍÑANO's volume contains a vivid description of the fortunes of Spanish colonial trade and naval power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is also an eloquent appeal to Spaniards for the industrial and maritime regeneration of their country. The political decline of Spain under the princes of the House of Hapsburg was coincident with the decay of sea-power, and sea-power was lost through the consistent sacrifice by the crown of industrial and commercial interests to immediate political and financial ends. The moral for the Spaniard to-day is obvious. Sea-power and trade go hand in hand, and with them national well-being. Agriculture and manufactures must therefore be strenuously encouraged, imposts lessened, conditions of traffic improved, and above all the nation must be educated, technically and morally, to the dignity and the necessity of labor. Such is the burden of the writer's theme.

With this in mind the book should be judged. It is a historical work, but makes no pretense to great erudition. Its appeal is first to the patriot rather than to the scholar. After a somewhat discursive introduction, the author describes in successive chapters the administrative organization of early Spanish colonial commerce, fleets and convoys, passengers and contraband, the ways and means of trade, corsairs, ships and shipbuilding. Several appendixes follow, of extracts from sources already in print but not easily accessible to the general reader. Information is gleaned largely from Veitia Linaje's *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias*, from the Laws of the Indies, Herrera, Esquemeling, and a few manuscripts in the historical collections at Madrid. The Archives of the Indies in Seville were not used, nor to any extent the great miscellanies of printed documents taken from the same repository.

The story therefore is rather loosely told, the origins of customs and institutions are imperfectly understood, and misstatements are frequent owing to lack of knowledge of the sources. It is far from true that in the beginning the ideal of the Spanish sovereigns was free trade, even

for Castilians, with the Indies. The Casa de Contratación in its inception was designed, not to foster the traffic of private merchants, but to manage the trade of the crown, and a royal monopoly seems to have been contemplated like that of the Portuguese king with India. The evil features of the colonial system, as they became apparent in the time of Philip II., inhere in the dispositions of the Catholic kings themselves. The book is also wanting in the perspective which might have been gained from a closer acquaintance with the contemporary usages of other nations, especially in the commerce of the Mediterranean. There are few features of the organization of early American trade for which no precedents can be found in the regulations of the maritime cities of southern Europe, such as Amalfi, Pisa, and Venice.

The chapter on the history of privateering in Spanish-American seas is the least satisfactory. Artiñano, unaware of the terrible depredations of the French in the Caribbean in the time of Charles V., designates the expedition of Drake and Hawkins in 1567-1569 as the first piratical excursion into that region; and he persists in the antiquated Spanish notion that every foreign interloper in the Indies was a pirate. Barbadoes, St. Kitts, and the other Lesser Antilles were therefore settled by pirates (p. 195), and all the colonies of that era, save those of Spain and Portugal, were inspired solely by the thirst for plunder and the greed of gold (p. 39). Finally, it was the buccaneers alone who enabled the other maritime powers to maintain themselves in the West Indies and on the American coasts. Without them, Spain would probably have been able to repel these intrusions (p. 239). The writer's knowledge of the English and French colonies seems to have been gained almost entirely from Esquemeling.

These criticisms are ventured, not in a captious spirit, but in the consciousness that the author has intended only a rapid sketch of the greatness and decay of his country, as the text of his appeal for a rejuvenated Spain. His generalizations, except where vitiated by insufficient evidence, display thought and insight, and his comparison of Spanish colonial policy with the Navigation Acts of Cromwell is very apt. The spirited style, the excellent letter-press, and the absence of pedantry, should recommend the volume to a very wide public. Of the illustrations the frontispiece is most interesting, a photograph of a sixteenth-century painting which depicts the city and port of Seville.

C. H. HARING.

The Danish West Indies under Company Rule, 1671-1754, with a Supplementary Chapter, 1755-1917. By WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History at Pomona College. With an Introduction by H. MORSE STEPHENS, Sather Professor of History at the University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 359. \$3.00.)

IN spite of the inevitable lapse of interest in the history of the West

Indies which has been occasioned by the war, that history must nevertheless remain a subject of great historical importance. It must retain its importance from three facts: (1) The history of the commerce of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—an important and still unwritten story—can never be written with any finality till investigation has disclosed clearly and fully the economic development of the West India Islands; (2) The history of European expansion in those two centuries, more especially in its economic, social and institutional phases, can likewise never be completed without a very thorough knowledge of the economic life of the islands and of the social and political institutions which the colonizers from the various countries of Europe established in the American archipelago; (3) The history of the West Indies as a story in itself, by reason of the rapid development of Latin America and of the opening of the Panama Canal, will have an increasing importance and will inevitably call for the preparatory work of the historians to make the writing of such a history possible.

Measured in terms of the contributions which are made to these three important fields, Professor Westergaard's work more than justifies the years of research and the conscientious attention to every detail which he has given to the making of this book. From the point of view of the history of commerce he has made a contribution of high order in giving us the first story of the Danish West Indies. St. Thomas, as the refuge of freebooters and as an international port of free trade, had its influence on the European traders of all nations. It was a typical cosmopolitan trading centre where the prevailing tongue was Dutch, where daring filibusters like Captain Kidd sold their booty, and where international smugglers plied their trade. It was the "outlaw island". Then too his story of the slave-trade and especially of the part played in that trade by the Brandenburgers, who established themselves at St. Thomas, is an important contribution. From the standpoint of economic, social, and institutional history his contribution is no less important, for we get in his work a new and original story of the settlement of the Danes in the three islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John. One is quite prepared to agree with the author when he says that "in the growth of the idea of self-government the experience of the Danish colonies is suggestive"—suggestive because it is corroborative of the studies of other scholars in their investigation of British, French, and Spanish West India colonies, which show that the spirit of independence and self-government were not characteristics of the British continental colonies alone. From the standpoint of the history of the West India islands it goes without saying that we have by his work another chapter which brings us one step nearer the completion of the fascinating story of the Islands.

The author shows a thorough knowledge of the historical literature dealing with the many phases of the history of the islands, the French,

the Dutch, the British, and the Spanish. But this knowledge is only supplementary to that wider knowledge which he has gained from his study of the original sources in the Danish archives. His long months of work in exploring the all-but-untouched treasures of the Danish colonial archives have yielded gratifying results. Professor Westergaard's method of work seems thoroughly convincing and in consonance with the best traditions of historical scholarship.

These facts make it hard to offer any unfavorable criticism of the work, and yet the conscientious reader of the book cannot but feel that the author has somewhat vitiated the excellent results of his study by paying too much attention to a great many details which confuse rather than clarify the story he is telling. Only superabundant enthusiasm could permit him to devote so much space to the lives of the governors of the Danish colonies. The godfather of the work, in attempting to set forth some of the commendable features of the book in the introduction, unwittingly reveals one of its weaknesses when he remarks that the author "has made quite a picture gallery of governors, factors, chaplains, statesmen, and politicians". This fault, if it is a fault, we feel sure, will be eliminated in Professor Westergaard's later volumes. The absorbing interest of the task will take him more and more into dealing with the forces which shaped the history of the West Indies, in which individuals are forgotten except as they play ephemeral rôles in shaping the course of that history.

The book is well written and contains a most readable and original story. It deserves a wide reading by all students of the history of colonization.

MINOR NOTICES

The Heroic Legends of Denmark. By Axel Olrik. Translated from the Danish and revised in collaboration with the author by Lee M. Hollander, Instructor in German and Scandinavian at the University of Wisconsin. [Scandinavian Monographs, vol. IV.] (New York, American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1919, pp. xviii, 530, \$5.00.) Among the many Scandinavian students who have explored the antiquities of the northern peoples, few take higher rank in constructive scholarship than the late Dr. Axel Olrik. Beginning some thirty years ago as collector and editor of Danish ballads, he worked his way backward through Saxo Grammaticus to the earlier fields of song and legend which he cultivated more effectively than any previous student of these materials. Dr. Olrik wrote on many themes, but his most important work is a critical history of the heroic legends of Denmark, a study in which he included such materials from the literatures of neighboring lands as deal with Danish themes. Two volumes of this work (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*) have been published; a third was in preparation at the time of the author's death, and will probably be published at an early date.

When the authorities of the American-Scandinavian Foundation decided to include one of Olrik's studies among the *Scandinavian Monographs*, the first volume of the *Helteedigtning* was chosen as the most representative. This is a critical examination of a notable group of poems and legends dealing with the career of Hrolf Kraki, who seems to have ruled in Denmark early in the sixth century. The work begins with a study of the fortunes of the Scylding dynasty as told in the earliest English poetry, and traces the development of these tales through sagas, poems, and traditions to the close of the Middle Ages. After sifting out the supernatural, the legendary, and the alien elements, the author finds a body of historic facts, which, though not very considerable, add a certain definiteness to the history of the Danish kingdom in the migration period.

The work in its English form is something more than a mere translation. The author took the occasion to give the volume a careful revision, in the process of which he introduced opinions and conclusions that he had reached in his later study of the Danish legends. The translator's work has been done with great care and shows an intimate acquaintance not only with the language of the original but also with the materials analysed and discussed.

L. M. L.

Les Châtelains de Flandre: Étude d'Histoire Constitutionnelle. Par W. Blommaert. [Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 46^e fascicule.] (Ghent, E. van Goethem et Cie., 1915, pp. 250, 7.50 fr.) This is one of an increasing number of monographs devoted to the study of limited fields which are gradually extending and clarifying our knowledge of the great institutional changes which took place in various parts of Europe between the disintegration of the Carolingian empire and the formation of a fully developed feudalism. It is an excellent and an informing work upon a subject the importance of which has long been recognized, but which has hitherto received no adequate treatment as a whole. The author has patiently worked through the whole list of Flemish castellanies, making separate studies of each according to a uniform plan. Five of these studies, which deal with the castellanies of greatest importance, or about which we have relatively full information—Bruges, Ghent, Douai, Lille, and Saint-Omer—he has published integrally in the first five chapters of the volume. The sixth and final chapter is devoted to a general conclusion in which the results of the whole investigation are brought together. Without ascribing a common origin to all the Flemish castellanies the author holds that the greater part of them arose during the tenth and eleventh centuries as the result of Norman or other invasions which obliged the count of Flanders to erect and garrison strongholds (*castra*) in strategic positions for purposes of defense. Hence

the earliest and most important function of the castellan was that of a military officer. Many of the castellans also exercised the right of *haute justice* within the limits of their districts, as well as important and lucrative administrative powers. These functions they derived not from the necessities of defense against the invasions, but from the fact that in this same disordered period the count of Flanders was engaged in extending his sway beyond the original *pagus Flandrensis* over the surrounding *pagi* and found it necessary to delegate to a local authority powers which he was unable to exercise in person over his enlarged territories. Thus within his limited sphere the Flemish castellan came to exercise virtually the functions of a count, and he may be regarded as in a very real sense the descendant of the Frankish *comes*. Not infrequently he is called a *vicecomes*.

CHARLES WENDELL DAVID.

Le Bailliage de Vermandois aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles: Étude d'Histoire Administrative. Par Henri Waquet, Archiviste Paléographe. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1919, pp. xii, 271, 12 fr.) This study clearly is of the order of local history. But it is much more than that. It is an inquiry concerning the French monarchy. It treats of the ways and means by which the monarchy made its objects and powers to be felt, the agencies by which it touched the life of those it served or exploited.

What these local agencies were, not only constitutionally but in actual conduct, was made very clear for the later fifteenth century in the remarkable monograph by Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Officiers Royaux des Bailliages et Sénéchaussées* (1902). They have been fairly well known too, as to essential features, for the preceding times. But it is true that those who have most occupied themselves with the matter in the earlier period—chief among them are Borelli de Serres, Petit-Dutaillis, Langlois, Luchaire, Viollet, and O. Tixier in a thesis—relied in the main on the royal ordinances. Their treatments accordingly have a good many shortcomings, especially as to how prescriptions turned out in practice. Monsieur Waquet has sought advance with the problem by studying in detail one bailliage, the one regarded as the first in the realm, from its origins till about 1400. He has relied mostly on printed materials but also has drawn considerably from archives. His work bears throughout the signs of real competence. In its character as local history, it will prove a very welcome aid to all who have to do in a detailed way with Laon, Reims, Soissons, Noyon, Péronne, St. Quentin, and the regions thereabout, in the later Middle Ages. Not the least helpful parts of it will be the chronological lists, given in appendixes, of the *baillis*, *prévôts*, and other chief sharers in the administration.

E. W. D.

Klein Plakkaatboek van Nederland: Verzameling van Ordonnantien en Plakkaten betreffende Regeeringsvorm, Kerk en Rechtspraak, 14^e eeuw tot 1749. Bijgebracht door A. S. de Blécourt, Hoogleraar te Leiden, en N. Japikse, Directeur van het Bureau voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. (Groningen and the Hague: J. B. Wolters, 1919, pp. viii, 353, 9.75 fr.) Under this title—Small Placard Book of Netherland—we have an exceedingly useful collection of documents recording vital changes in the relations between people and their rulers, the Church, and the law, as they have occurred in the provinces comprising the present kingdom of the Netherlands or in other Netherland lands when those same provinces were affected thereby. It is a source-book in compact form of the most important “placards”, the essential planks in the scaffolding of the nation as its people developed historically from practical vassalship to being to a certain degree the pioneers in a form of federal government. The matter selected is essentially Netherland in character. That is, international relations are not touched upon. The process is a slow one from the “privilege” bestowed by Arnold, bishop of Utrecht, upon his knights, knaves, and cities “on this side of the Yssel”, 1375, to the reformed constitution of Groningen (Stad en Land), 1749, which is the fiftieth and closing selection. The choice, of course, is necessarily arbitrary, and in some cases other documents might have found place with equal propriety; but the editors’ knowledge of their material is exhaustive and thorough, and their judgment as to relative value may be relied upon.

The majority of the documents are in the unwieldy *Groot Placcaet-boeks*, and all have been printed in some form or other, but the accuracy of these reprints is assured by collation with the originals where such are still in existence or by careful comparison of the earliest texts.

The Reign of Henry the Fifth. By James Hamilton Wylie. Volume II., 1415–1416. (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. 507, 30 sh.) The second volume of *Henry V.*, for which only hopes could be expressed in the review of the first volume,¹ is now posthumously published, in the partially revised condition in which it was left by its lamented author. It has the same tantalizing charm, the same qualities with their defects, although it “heads in” rather better. Its chronological range is from the summer of 1415 to the summer of 1416—somewhat under a year, whereas the first volume covered two years. The high point of the volume is the description of the march of Henry and his six thousand from Harfleur to Calais. The battle of Agincourt is treated admirably, with a concreteness of realism that brings home to the reader the actualities of five centuries ago as if they were the doings of the descendants of the participants and their kin in the same region in the dark spring days of 1918. The author’s foot-notes, plentiful and over-

¹ *American Historical Review*, XX. 143–144.

condensed as usual, play havoc with the opinions of historians, good, bad, and indifferent, including Oman himself. In the second last chapter the author describes the character and whimsies of the royal duke of Berry; and he ends the volume with a detailed description of the humble inhabitants, services, and courts of one of the manors of Great Waltham—a chapter which students of the manor will not overlook.

The author's antiquarianism is inveterate (*e.g.*, pp. 228–229), and his shifts from one series of loosely connected topics to another seem at first glance unreasoned. On reflection, however, it will occur to the thoughtful reader that Wylie has in some measure the same justification for his method of handling his material that some of us have for our method of presenting the civilization of a period. He makes use of a group of topics, which appear disconnected except for the tenuous bond of synchronism, and yet are, in effect, a series of studies of life at a given time from various angles, and when these are contrasted and compared one with another and viewed as a whole, they leave a firm impression of variety in unity. Life is more complex than anything else, and the orderly development of a well-fenced theme is often erroneously suggestive of an unreal simplicity in motive and in life. There is therefore corrective value in such work as Wylie's, even if he does often enthrone the casual, and one who grasps the point will profit by it and will, as does the reviewer, ask pardon of Wylie's memory for the hard things he may have thought or said of the good man's incoherence, of his presentation of materials for history rather than of history itself.

GEORGE C. SELLERY.

The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa. By George Frederick Zook, Ph.D. (Washington, Journal of Negro History, 1919, pp. v, 105.) In his brief introduction to this monograph, Dr. Zook calls attention to the historian's long neglect of the African trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ascribing the reason to a loss of interest in the West Coast of Africa, following the abolition of the slave-trade. It is true that we are but slowly realizing that here lies a field which no student of modern history can afford to neglect. Far too many of the motives which guided the diplomacy of European courts took their rise here, the well-being of too large a part of the governing class of western Europe depended on the activities along this line of coast, for it to be safely ignored. In the present study, we have the history of one of these companies, the Royal Adventurers trading to Africa, between 1660 and 1672. To steer between the Scylla of topical treatment, with its necessary repetition and its loss of relationship to the larger life of a period, and the Charybdis of chronological treatment, with its lack of compact coherence, is always a baffling task, and in this story the difficulties are greatly enhanced by the fact that the action takes place in four theatres, no one of which is negligible in

understanding the others. Occasionally the repetition which this entails becomes irritating and even confusing, but on the whole Dr. Zook has presented a clear and straightforward account of the company's activities and relationships. He begins with that part of its history which takes place in England, its organization, its finances, its members, its dissolution. The stage of the next chapter is the West Coast. The quarrels between the Dutch and the English trading companies, and the resulting diplomatic tangles culminating in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-1667, are carefully untangled. In chapter IV. the author turns to conditions in the colonies. The close connection between the prosperity of the colonies and the ravaging of the West Coast of Africa and the place of the slave-trade in the imperial system have already been made familiar by Mr. Beer. Dr. Zook shifts the emphasis to the activities of the company, making it ever the centre of his interest.

This story of commercial enterprise, of West African aggression, of colonial faultfinding, and of diplomatic intricacies is built up chiefly from official documents, as in the nature of the case it is bound to be, and therefore it must leave us with many questions of more intimate detail unanswered. The monograph first appeared in the *Journal of Negro History* (April, 1919) and has been reprinted from that journal, thus affording Dr. Zook an opportunity to add a bibliography and an index and to make a few minor corrections. The study is to be followed by a similar one dealing with the Royal African Company, 1672-1752.

Surveys of Scottish History. By P. Hume Brown, Historiographer Royal for Scotland and Professor of Ancient Scottish History and Palaeography, University of Edinburgh. With an Introduction by Viscount Haldane. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1919, pp. xi, 192, 7 sh. 6 d.) These collected studies form a notable and characteristic epilogue to the late Professor Hume Brown's many volumes on Scottish history. The first essay in the collection, his inaugural address, in Edinburgh University, and the last three, which are occasional lectures on Scottish subjects, do not connect themselves with the general idea of surveying Scottish history. But the intermediate chapters deal with various aspects of the shaping of the Scottish nation, and furnish, as few other volumes do, a key to the wilderness of seemingly unrelated fact which constitutes so much of the national record.

All the essays are singularly characteristic of their author, a man of austere academic habits and quiet rational temper, endowed with little of the *ingenium perfervidum* of his race, and careful in avoiding the zeal and partizanship which one has come to think inseparable from the study of Scottish history. Even on so vexed a question as the policy of the later Stuart kings, Dr. Hume Brown maintains his judicial balance, although he allows himself the luxury of the superlative when he calls the reign of Charles II. in Scotland "the most pitiful, the most revolting,

and at the same time the sublimest and most impressive page in the national history". His very fairness seems, however, to mislead him when he deals with the national record of the Scottish nobility. "Once and again", he writes in an ingenious and interesting chapter, "they had the destinies of the country in their hands; it was they who gave Scotland its limited monarchy, the Reformation and the Covenants were largely their work; and but for them the Revolution and the Union might have had no place in our history." That is not the verdict of the Scottish national tradition. It is surely special pleading to praise self-seeking landowners for achievements where chance made their selfish interests coincide with those of a people organized and inspired by the national Kirk. It would not have been out of place to add to these surveys one other showing how a nation, unfortunate in its secular institutions, learned its first lessons in constitutional government through a representative church assembly.

But Dr. Hume Brown atones for any faults in two most admirable essays on Scotland in the Eighteenth Century and Intellectual Influences of Scotland on the Continent, where his combination of Scottish and Continental learning may be seen at its best. There are few better summaries of the amazing intellectual ascendancy achieved by the Scottish moderates in the later eighteenth century, and of the influence they exerted on European thought. "It is an admirable result of the progress of the human spirit," wrote Voltaire in irony, "that, to-day, rules of taste in all the arts, from the epic poem to gardening, come to us from Scotland."

Of such illustrious spiritual ancestry Dr. Hume Brown ever showed himself a worthy son.

J. L. M.

The True La Fayette. By George Morgan. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 489, \$2.50.) A popular life of Lafayette, but not "the first authoritative work covering the whole of his career in detail". The title, *The True Lafayette*, is something of an enigma. One would naturally expect a revelation of some kind, fresh light thrown on Lafayette's character and career by means of evidence hitherto unutilized, but the book contains nothing of the sort; the adjective in the title that piques the attention is devoid of any meaning. There is detail enough, at times too much for so small a book, but a lack of unifying ideas. Believing as the author did that "we still need to know more of the man who said, 'The welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind'", he might wisely have omitted some of the unimportant details with which he has cumbered his pages to tell us more of Lafayette's views upon America and the rôle of liberty in the world. The chapter on Campaigning in America is the best part of the book, the author being evidently more at home in American his-

tory. The later chapters are superficial and unscholarly. The whole work betrays a lack of appreciation of what evidence means, and should fill the reader with distrust. Thomas Watson's *History of France*, Carlyle's *French Revolution*, school texts, and Mrs. Latimer's *Scrapbook* are evidently trustworthy sources of information.

F. M. F.

A Brief History of Europe from 1789 to 1815. By Lucius Hudson Holt, Professor of English and History, and Alexander Wheeler Chilton, Assistant Professor of History, United States Military Academy. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. xi, 358, \$2.75.) The World War has opened the eyes of historians to the absolute necessity of a new evaluation of a great deal of modern history. Honest efforts are being made to see the past from the standpoint suggested by the epoch-making events of the past four years. In view of this, a sense of disappointment is inevitable over a volume which devotes only 160 pages to the *ancien régime* and the Revolution, and 190 pages to the years from the rise of Napoleon to Waterloo. The authors inform us in the preface that "military campaigns" are done by Mr. Chilton, "political narrative" by Mr. Holt, but make no mention of economic, social, or intellectual history.

Few periods of history are so charged with social and economic progress as is that of the French Revolution, and none so clearly reflects the vital and dynamic importance of ideas and intellectual movements. In view of this the discussion of Political Philosophy and its Authors merits more than a meagre three pages (pp. 47-50). There is lip-service to the ideas and spirit of the Revolution, but if it is by their works that the authors' appreciation of these great historic forces is to be estimated, then the fact that the Declaration of the Rights of Man is despatched in a solitary paragraph is not very encouraging. Economy of space might be urged as an excuse, were it not for the fact that half a dozen pages (pp. 20-26) are devoted to Catherine II., and more than the usual attention is given to campaigns of passing importance. Twenty of the twenty-nine maps and diagrams deal with campaigns and battles, none with the famous *gabelle*, the customs, or Napoleonic trade-routes. To many even the account of the campaigns will seem inadequate because topography and geographic factors are so persistently neglected.

On the other hand, if we except the questions of emphasis the work is very well done. The style is clear and forceful, and the narrative moves forward with much vigor. Personalities are often very successfully treated. Occasional errors or slips occur, as for example December 4, 1804 (p. 207) for December 2. The second of December plays too important a rôle in the annals of Napoleonic history to be thus obscured. Instances of overlapping occur as on page 104 and 107, 111 and 113. But these are minor matters. The real test of any work on this

period must be along the larger lines indicated above, and on this score the work is lacking. The concluding paragraph of the volume is an eloquent tribute to the paramount and permanent influence of the ideas and forces of the Revolution, but it is difficult to see how this can be the logical conclusion to the work before us. The authors were apparently unable or unwilling to emancipate themselves from the conventional treatment and write a volume in accordance with the ideas of their own conclusion.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

La Révolution Française et le Régime Féodal. Par Alphonse Aulard, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1919, pp. iv, 286.) The suggestiveness of this book is quite out of proportion to its size. This is in a measure due to the fact that the author is concerned mainly with pointing out to scholars the incompleteness of the evidence upon which certain seemingly well-established views appear to rest. He also indicates other questions which call for careful investigation on account of the scantiness of our present knowledge. As an example of the first may be cited M. Sagnac's conclusion, put forward in his doctoral thesis of 1898, that the burden of feudal dues was increased during the reign of Louis XVI. Professor Aulard now shows that the cases upon which reliance has been placed to substantiate such a view often lack typical character, and that some are not sufficiently specific. To exhibit one instance where a grand seignior used a "philosophic" consideration of his tenants, Professor Aulard draws upon the voluminous correspondence of the intendant of the Duc de Cossé-Brissac with the stewards of his estates in the Ile-de-France, Anjou, Poitou, and Burgundy. Professor Aulard also regards as at least not proved the assertion that the seigniors at the renewal of *terriers* had commonly increased the amount of the dues or recovered dues that had been permitted to lapse. In discussing the legislation of the Revolution, his attention is directed chiefly to the question of the persistence of collection after the decrees of 1790. The destruction of feudal registers in accordance with the laws of the Convention makes research difficult, but with the assistance of various archivists Professor Aulard has been able to indicate fruitful lines of inquiry. His view of the work of the Constituent, especially of the laws of March and May, 1790, is similar to that of MM. Sagnac and Caron, namely, that this legislation was "vraiment bourgeoise et anti-populaire", a judgment which is difficult to share except on the theory that social progress is advanced best by a ruthless expropriation of the beneficiaries of a superseded régime.

H. E. BOURNE.

Les Martyrs de Septembre. Par Henri Welschinger, de l'Institut de France. ["Les Saints."] (Paris, J. Gabalda, 1919, pp. xxiv, 179, 3 fr.)

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXV.—36.

This volume belongs to the collection known as "Les Saints". The presence in the series of an account of the murder of the 213 ecclesiastics who were victims of the September Massacres is not surprising, because their real offense was a refusal to take the oath prescribed in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. For this the Legislative Assembly had ordered their deportation, an act of which the authorities of Paris took advantage to crowd all those at hand into the Carmelites, St. Firmin, and other prisons. It appears that the procedure leading to their beatification as martyrs, begun at Rome some years ago, has already reached an advanced stage. This has served as the occasion of M. Welschinger's re-study of the most sinister episode of the Revolution. Part of his book is polemical in tone, and part reads like a work of edification, but his chapter VIII. (*A qui incombre la Responsabilité des Massacres*) is a serious attempt to apportion the blame between Danton and the more brutal spirits in the Commune. M. Welschinger treats Danton with surprising fairness, but does not give the General Council of the Commune the benefit of any favorable indications. For example, he refers to the circular sent out on September 3 by the Committee of Surveillance as involving the whole Commune in its atrocious effort to extend the massacres to the departments. It is true that this committee existed by vote of the General Council, but by the time the circular was despatched the council had begun sincere, if futile, efforts to check the massacres. The evidence for the truth of this view, presented a decade ago by M. Braesch in his *Commune du Dix Août*, seems irrefutable. M. Welschinger fails also to mention the counter-circular which the council on September 7 asked Mayor Pétion to send to the departments. In the less controversial chapters M. Welschinger narrates the story of the massacres of the ecclesiastics, especially at the Carmelites, quoting at length from accounts of survivors, the Abbé de la Pannonie and others.

H. E. BOURNE.

Le Fer sur une Frontière: la Politique Métallurgique de l'État Allemand. Par Fernand Engerand, Député du Calvados. (Paris, Éditions Bossard, 1919, pp. 234, 5.40 fr.) This volume, which first appeared as articles in the *Correspondant* in 1916, is written to maintain certain theses respecting the place of iron and coal in war between France and Germany. According to the author, Germany, having secured the coal of the Saar in 1815 and the iron of Lorraine in 1871, systematically held back the development of this region in favor of Westphalia for the purpose of keeping her iron industry far removed from the vulnerable western frontier. France, on the other hand, failing to realize the fundamental importance of iron and steel in modern warfare, concentrated her plants in the region of Briey, and when war broke out not only failed to destroy the German mines across the border, but abandoned the Briey basin without an effort, thus losing ninety per cent. of her own

supply of ore. This whole question was ventilated in the French Chamber and the Paris press last spring, when military authorities denied the possibility of French operations in this sense in 1914, while the German statements that Briey had saved Germany's life were offset by statistics showing on her part relatively small utilization of the Lorraine mines and furnaces during the war. The greater portion of M. Enge-
rand's book is devoted to tracing the rivalries of the coal and iron interests in Germany and the policy of the government in relation thereto. For the historical student this volume, consisting in large measure of contested interpretations of accessible material, is less valuable than the author's earlier work, *L'Allemagne et le Fer*, which utilizes interesting documents concerning the opening up of the Saar mines and the frontier of 1871.

C. H. H.

The Italian Emigration of our Times. By Robert F. Foerster, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Social Ethics in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Series.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919, pp. xx, 558, \$2.50.) Dr. Foerster's careful and comprehensive study not only renders available a mass of facts regarding modern Italian emigration, but so co-ordinates them as to contribute a consistent and sympathetic picture of the human motives and traits which characterize this exodus. Each chapter of his work is an intensive inquiry into and report on the special developments, social and economic, due to the influx of Italians in the country discussed, and the conclusion is emphasized that this emigration has been of high general as well as particular benefit to several lands and in an exceptional measure to Tunisia, South Brazil, and Argentina. Economically, moreover, Switzerland, southern France, Germany, and the United States have been gainers since "it is the uniform testimony that the Italians have been in favor by the employing classes". Indeed from this standpoint the immigrant is not desirable only but indispensable.

Dr. Foerster gives a succinct account of the primary causes of emigration in the untoward physical, political, and agricultural conditions, plus the common overpopulation, of the Italian peninsula, demonstrating its inevitable character and showing the place it holds in the minds of Italian statesmen and economists. He quotes Senator Bodio's dictum, "migrations are ordained by Providence". But he does not overlook or underestimate the appalling conditions which it commonly encounters, and the tragic record of privation, inhumanity, disease, and social irregularity it too often writes.

Dr. Foerster's chapters on the Italians in the United States are almost exhaustive and illustrate the predominant place they occupy as laborers on public works and in only a less degree the wonderful adaptability evinced by these farmers of the hills in the presence of American metro-

politan conditions. It is shown too, that the clannishness with which they are often charged is due to a protective instinct and often proves beneficial.

Final chapters show that Italy regards her absentee children everywhere as wards whose welfare may not be discounted. The generous projects of Bodio, Luzzatti, and Rossi in the paternal regulation bills of 1901 are approved; and the value of the retention of his native tongue by the immigrant, even when he has taken permanent residence in a new land, is affirmed.

Finally, it may be said that Dr. Foerster's work is the most authoritative as it is the most comprehensive volume dealing with the subject of Italian immigration yet published in the United States, and is indispensable to all who care to know intimately its characteristic features and main purport.

W. E. DAVENPORT.

Civilization and the World War. By Anson Daniel Morse, LL.D., late Winkley Professor of History in Amherst College. (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, 1919, pp. xiv, 222, \$1.60.) It has long been known to students of American history that the late Professor Morse of Amherst was engaged upon a history of political parties in the United States. Separate portions of his studies have been published as articles in various reviews, five in the *Political Science Quarterly*, others elsewhere, including this *Review*, and in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These articles have proved useful to students, and a collected edition of them, with the omission of necessarily repeated passages, and such revisions as might properly be made, would probably multiply and perpetuate their usefulness. Professor Morse's family has chosen to publish, as indicating the character of his thinking on wider subjects and as a memorial, the volume under review, written since the beginning of the Great War.

Professor Morse first considers what civilization is; then how it was produced, the process resulting in two types, the one autocratic, aristocratic, and militaristic, the other democratic. The result, as it affects the individual and then as it affects the state, is discussed, and in chapter V. the influence upon civilization of war in comparison with peace. This portion of the book is largely of the nature of an introduction to what follows in part II., a somewhat more specific discussion of the two types of civilization in conflict with one another. In this part the situation of the world at the outbreak of the war is taken up, the contrasted civilizations of America and Germany in some detail, the dangers which threatened civilization from the possible triumph of German imperialism, and on the contrary the results which might be expected to follow a victory of the Allies. The last chapter is a strong plea for a League of Nations as a necessary safeguard of civilization, written we are told before March, 1916.

Professor Morse's conception of civilization is lofty and spiritual. He considers civilization in itself, as the outcome of history, to be "the aggregate of gains that man has made since his emergence from the condition of the brute, the end of which is the ideal man of the future perfected in his entire nature". Its foundation and its creative force are found in morality—morality of the individual and of the state. Unless these prevail any civilization is false and insecure, and the result of the war and of the arrangements made after it should be to secure permanently the rule of right in all human relations.

Bethmann Hollwegs Kriegsreden. Herausgegeben und historisch-kritisch eingeleitet von Dr. Friedrich Thimme, Direktor der Bibliothek des vormaligen Herrenhauses. (Stuttgart and Berlin, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1919, pp. lxii, 274.) It is probable that for some years to come controversy will centre around the personality of Bethmann-Hollweg and his relation to the outbreak of the war of 1914. Herr Thimme has done the American student a service in collecting in one convenient volume the war speeches of the German chancellor. As the name of the editor would lead one to expect, the editorial work has been carefully done, numerous and useful notes are provided, and a good index increases the value of the book. Especially valuable are the notes appended to each speech giving the reaction it had from the press and public opinion generally.

Unfortunately the edition is not complete. The speeches of the chancellor on the question of the submarine in the main committee of the Reichstag in March, May, and September, 1916, are omitted, as well as all the speeches during the governmental crisis which led to the fall of Bethmann-Hollweg in July, 1916. Again, the very important speeches on foreign policy made to the main committee of the Reichstag on November 9, 1916, and January 31, 1917, are only given in the abbreviated edition of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The knowledge that speeches are sometimes carefully edited before publication in the official gazette justifies something less than absolute confidence in the text of the last two mentioned and, added to the omission of the others, renders the book less valuable, although the blame for this lies not with the editor. It might be interesting to speculate on the reasons of state which, as late as January 1, 1919, still prevented the full publication of these speeches.

The editor prefaces the collection with a long introduction which merits some attention. In it he traces the policy of Bethmann-Hollweg from 1909 to the outbreak of the war in 1914. The attempt is made to prove that the policy of Bethmann-Hollweg was crippled by the weight of the political inheritance which he received from the Bülow régime, and, secondly, that the policy of the chancellor during these years was consistent, able, and peaceful. Interesting as is the argument, it may

perhaps be said that the reader is not entirely convinced, especially with regard to the second proposition. But as a summary and criticism of German foreign policy during these years this introduction deserves careful perusal by all students of the diplomatic history of the period.

To those who lack access to large libraries of war-literature, the book will serve as a helpful guide to the public policy of Germany during the first three years of the war. To closer students of the period the introduction and notes may provide some helpful ideas or valuable clues. It is a useful addition to any library of war-literature.

MASON W. TYLER.

British Labor Conditions and Legislation during the War. By M. B. Hammond, Professor of Economics, Ohio State University. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, edited by David Kinley, Professor of Political Economy, University of Illinois, no. 14.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 335, \$1.00.) This is a useful compilation but not altogether a mature treatment of the subject. The author is scarcely able to go far astray in his presentation of facts, since he steadfastly relies upon the *Labour Year Books*, the *Labour Gazette*, and the report of the commission appointed in 1917 to investigate industrial unrest. If to these official sources there be added Kirkaldy's compilation called *Labour, Finance and the War*, Barrett's three-volume Senate document on *British Industrial Experience during the War*, and the Carnegie study of women's and children's labor by Andrews and Hobbs, the foundations of Professor Hammond's work are pretty well revealed. Unfortunately there is no discussion or estimate of the literature of the subject, no bibliography, sometimes no indication of the provenance of a book (we are never told the date, authorship, or character of *British Industrial Experience*). More serious is the disregard of the journals of Parliament and of the British daily and weekly press as an exponent of public opinion. It is a pity that Professor Hammond shares so fully the contempt of parliamentary achievement sometimes entertained in these later days; for he would have found the debates on the measures which he discusses not uninteresting. A reading of them and of the press would have given him a larger sense of what may be called the unity of the developing industrial drama. Had he acquired a keen feeling for the relation between cause and effect in the legislation and unrest of 1915-1917, he would scarcely have separated his discussions of the two as widely as he has done. Schematic treatment of a subject, although adaptable to the arrangement of clippings and extracts, is bound to have organic disadvantages. But these criticisms must not discourage the reader who desires in accessible form a culling from important sources. The garnering has been conscientiously done, and the presentation is full, informing, and lucid.

H. L. GRAY.

The Fitch Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1754-1766. Volume I. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XVII.] (Hartford, the Society, 1918, pp. xlix, 402, \$3.00.) Mr. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society pursues the even tenor of his useful way and with noteworthy regularity, which even war and the world's unrest cannot affect, presents us with steadily recurring volumes in the society's series of the papers and correspondence of Connecticut's colonial governors. The latest volume, bearing the date of 1918 and numbered XVII. in the list of the society's publications, is the first of the Fitch Papers and covers the period from 1754 to 1758. A second and final volume, already three-quarters in type, is scheduled soon to appear, carrying the subject to 1766, the date which marked the end of Fitch's administration. This particular governorship came to an end under peculiar circumstances, for Fitch was one of the first among that early group of colonials who suffered because they could not square their consciences with what they believed to be a dereliction of duty, and consequently forfeited the good-will and support of their fellow-colonists. In October, 1765, Fitch took the oath to enforce the Stamp Act, and the next year was defeated for re-election and never again given political office. The issue in his case, as in that of thousands of others, was one of moral obligation. He was a loyalist, not in devotion to the king but in devotion to conscience, and there were many during the pre-Revolutionary period who were ostracized for a like cause. Fitch was an able and learned lawyer and a good governor, and he served his colony too well to be cast aside for conduct that was to say the least honorable, whatever else may be thought of it. The documents here printed call for no special comment, for except in detail they add but little to our general knowledge of the period. They concern chiefly the war, the Susquehanna settlement, the last stages of the Spanish ship case, the Massachusetts boundary question, and various matters of a financial, commercial, and agrarian nature. Mr. Forrest Morgan has furnished an introduction, and Mr. Bates a biography of Fitch, in which he gives us excellent statements of Connecticut's way of electing her governors, of the printed laws of the colony, and of the governor's salary. In addition to the documents which are printed in full, Mr. Bates has placed in parenthetical paragraphs brief synopses of documents printed elsewhere, references to letters known to have been written but which no longer exist, and statements of contents in certain cases as far as they can be recovered. As a result of such editorial contrivances this volume is unusually full and complete.

C. M. A.

The Story of Old Saratoga: the Burgoyne Campaign, to which is added New York's Share in the Revolution. By John Henry Brandow.

(Albany, the Author, 1919, pp. xxiii, 528.) In this volume the *Story of Old Saratoga* occupies nearly four-fifths of the space, and of this portion one-third is taken up with an account of the Burgoyne campaign. Of this event the author claims only to have retold the story "from the viewpoint of the Heights of Saratoga". As one of the many critical points of the "Old New York Frontier", the region deserves intensive study from what may be called the Turner point of view. But the author has chosen to cast his account on the conventional lines of a "local" history.

The part of the book entitled New York's Share in the Revolution is practically a pamphlet of one hundred pages accusing history-writers of a failure to "designate New York's legitimate place on the roll of honor". Especially bitter is the complaint that activities of New Yorkers and events occurring on New York soil receive less space, measured in pages, than corresponding activities and events in other states, particularly Massachusetts. We have here the familiar conception of history as a drama with the states participating as actors, and the equally familiar phenomenon of discontent over the distribution of the favors of the limelight. Now this portion of the book was added to the author's *Story of Old Saratoga*, published in 1900, because the volume was included by the School Libraries Division of the University of the State of New York in its list of supplementary readings for the public schools of the state. Whether this conception of history and this formulation of New York's grievance afford material most suitably adapted to stimulate historical-mindedness in the upcoming generation may be questioned. Interesting as such matters still are to many members of local historical societies, the newer views concerning the Revolution brought forward by the recent work of American scholarship would seem for coming citizens of greater importance.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806. Par F. P. Renaut. (Paris, Édouard Champion, Émile Larose, Libraires de la Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1919, pp. 242.) The material for the diplomatic history of the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States has long needed full treatment. This is provided by this able treatise on *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806*, which was first published in the *Revue des Colonies Françaises*, in whose pages have appeared many articles throwing light on the early colonial expansion of France.

It starts with a notice of the state of the colony in 1783 and follows the various changes in European politics which led up to the decision of Napoleon to treat for the whole province instead of the small portion for which the American envoys were instructed to negotiate. The author gives valuable reference to the second French domination under Pierre Clément Laussat, calling special attention to the rare diary of

the colonial prefect, published as *Mémoires sur ma Vie, à mon Fils, pendant les Années 1803 et suivantes, que j'ai rempli des Fonctions Publiques, savoir: à la Louisiane, en qualité de Commissaire du Gouvernement Français pour la Reprise de Possession de cette Colonie et pour sa Remise aux États-Unis* (Pau, 1831).

It is much to be desired that the portion of Laussat's book which relates to Louisiana should be reprinted. In the library of the Louisiana Historical Society in the Cabildo exist the several broadsides which are the official records of the government of Louisiana from December 1 to December 20, 1803. It is much to be regretted that no copy of the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* for November and December, 1803, is known to exist.

WILLIAM BEER.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. Volume XVII., Jahrgang 1917. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, pp. 519.) The major part of the *Jahrbuch* for 1917 is devoted to the publication of the journal of Johann Conrad Döhla (*Amerikanische Feldzüge, 1777-1783, Tagebuch*), who took part in the campaigns of 1777-1781 as a common soldier in the British army. He was in the Anspach-Bayreuth division of auxiliary troops drawn from German principalities, and served until taken prisoner with Cornwallis's army, after which his diary extends over the period of his prison life at Winchester and Fredericktown, and finally his return to Bavaria, in 1783. Döhla's journal has never been properly accessible in print, though H. A. Rattermann succeeded in publishing the first half in his short-lived *Deutschamerikanisches Magazin* (1886-1887). E. J. Lowell in his *Hessians* seems not to have been able to avail himself of the valuable materials contained in Döhla's *Tagebuch*, though he quotes at second hand a paragraph which he found in Eelking, *Hülfsstruppen*, II. 86. Curiously enough this passage, an account of the Hackensack raid, is one that gives a false impression. It is the only plundering expedition in which Döhla took part during his five years' campaigning, and in this his regiment was acting under British orders (March 24, 1780). Döhla reports that during captivity the German prisoners received better quarters and treatment than their English fellow-prisoners. At Frederick many of the captive Germans, especially of the Hessian regiments, became naturalized, and secured their freedom on the payment of thirty pounds or eighty Spanish dollars, often advanced by a friend or master with whom the outlay could be paid back in work. Recruiting officers of the American army were admitted into the barracks, and a large number of Hessians secured their freedom from captivity by entering the American service and accepting the bounty of thirty Spanish dollars. The orders and stipulations were

posted publicly and also read in the churches (September, 1782). Kapp (*Soldatenhandel*) preferred Döhla's diary to many written by superior officers, because of its simplicity and trustworthiness. It has not the personal charm, however, nor the sprightliness of the memoirs of the Baroness Riedesel, nor the occasional brilliancy of Captain Wiederholdt's narrative.

The *Jahrbuch* contains several briefer contributions, one on the importance of the mission of Moritz von Fürstenwärther, who was commissioned officially to investigate the distressing conditions of emigrants in 1817, and whose report was one important factor in the enactment of remedial laws on both sides of the Atlantic. The author, M. J. Kohler, falls into the same error as Fürstenwärther when he says (pp. 397, 400), that there was no tax on the property of emigrants from Switzerland. It was quite as bad there as elsewhere, and mounted as high as ten per cent. (see the work of Kaspar Hauser, *Ueber den Abzug in der Schweiz*, Zürich, 1909). An interesting letter of John Quincy Adams to Fürstenwärther, and copious selections from the latter's almost forgotten work *Der Deutsche in Amerika*, conclude this chapter.

O. F. W. Fernsemer attempts to connect the Palatine emigration of 1710 with the origin of *Robinson Crusoe*, but in this he is not as convincing as when he reveals Defoe's deep sympathy for the unfortunate Palatines and his humane efforts in their behalf.

A. B. FAUST.

A History of the Theatre in America from its Beginnings to the Present Time. By Arthur Hornblow. In two volumes. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 356; 374, \$10.00.) The so-called *History of the American Theatre* written by William Dunlap and issued a hundred years ago, is an interesting book, and as Mr. Hornblow says in his preface "almost everything can be said in praise except that it is not history"—being in fact mainly the autobiography of Dunlap himself. The three solid tomes of George O. Seilhamer's *History of the American Theatre*, published thirty years ago, brought the record down only to 1792; and they were disfigured by a needless and petulant hostility toward Dunlap. So it is, that Mr. Hornblow has really had no predecessor in the work he has now completed. His title is well chosen, since it is not the history of the drama in this country that he is telling but the story of the playhouse itself—its establishment in town after town, and in city after city during the past two centuries. He deals amply with players and with playwrights but his record of their achievements is subordinated to his record of the theatres in which the actors appeared and in which the dramas were performed. Mr. Hornblow is rather a chronicler than a historian. He devotes all his energy to the presentation of facts; his pages bristle with dates, diligently verified. He lacks the interpretative vision of the historian and

also the historian's ability to co-ordinate the facts he has gathered. Mr. Hornblow does not see the forest for the trees; but he does see the trees, one by one, and he catalogues them and sets them down in chronological array. At least, this is what he strives to do and what he generally succeeds in doing but what he is not always able to achieve, perhaps because of the very abundance of the facts themselves. It is as a repository of dates and names of managers and titles of plays that his two volumes are most valuable; and this is to say that his book, while it may be read with interest, is likely to be useful mainly as a work of reference. Its availability in this respect is increased by a forty-column index.

It remains to be said that Mr. Hornblow seems to have made no effort to disinter such information as may exist in manuscript records; and he has delved into contemporary newspapers perhaps less frequently than he might have done. On the other hand, he has carefully consulted the publications of the Dunlap Society and the many biographies and autobiographies of actors and of managers—although he has apparently never seen Archer's *Macready* or Matthews and Hutton's *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States*.

The Path of Empire: a Chronicle of the United States as a World Power. By Carl Russell Fish. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLVI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 305.) If it may be said that good historical popularization demands, first, the preservation of historical accuracy, secondly, the ability to hold the interest of the reader, and thirdly, the power of judicious condensation, then by the first two criteria Mr. Fish's book must be rated as a distinct success. As to the third, the reviewer wonders whether the author has not tried to do two things, each difficult, in the one book, and whether the result is altogether satisfactory. Quite the largest part of the volume, nearly half the total number of pages, is devoted to an excellent narrative of the war between the United States and Spain in 1898 and of the insurrectionary conflict in the Philippines. In the earlier chapters Mr. Fish explains the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, recounts the controversies between the United States and Great Britain from the time of Canning through the Venezuela affair, tells of the purchase of Alaska and of the Bering Sea arbitration, and accounts for the beginnings of the interest of the United States in the Pacific. But all that is said of the Floridas or of Louisiana is the mention of the acquisition of those regions, while the statement that "the United States annexed Texas without serious protest [from Great Britain]; in spite of the clamor for 'fifty-four forty or fight' Oregon was divided peacefully, and England did not take advantage of the war with Mexico" affords all the light thrown upon those steps in the expansion of the United States. Yet in other parts of America, certainly, those steps would be thought to have marked the path of empire of the growing republic.

The volume is brought to a close with four chapters upon the Open Door, the Panama Canal, the Problems of the Caribbean, and World Relationships. The limit of time reached is 1914, and the World War is left for another volume. In that, no doubt, the part played by the United States at Algeciras will receive consideration, although the interest of the United States in the Hague Conferences and the Hague Tribunal is taken up in this.

The subtitle describes the book as "a chronicle of the United States as a world power". Only in a partial and selective sense does the volume live up to this. But what it does is, for the most part, very well done; and, embellished with six handsome portrait illustrations, and furnished with a bibliographical note and a good index, it will undoubtedly stimulate an intelligent interest upon the part of that type of reader to whom the series, as a whole, will make its chief appeal.

ST. G. L. S.

Progressive Religious Thought in America: a Survey of the Enlarging Pilgrim Faith. By John Wright Buckham, Professor of Christian Theology in the Pacific School of Religion. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. ix, 352, \$2.25.) Professor Buckham has written a book of biographical sketches of the outstanding leaders of religious liberalism in New England from Horace Bushnell to Newman Smyth. He has known most of these men personally and writes with frank admiration, admitting that in some cases his chapter is a "eulogy, or even panegyric". But he writes with such ample knowledge of the men and their environment as to make his book instructive and valuable. It has the intimacy and charm of revelations made by a personal friend. Theodore T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, Washington Gladden, and many others pass before us, and we know their significance far better because of the review.

Having chosen the biographical method, we submit to the defects of its qualities. The great leaders appear to be chiefly of the Congregational churches, and to have resided in New England. Is it possible to portray religious progress "in America" for the last fifty years without devoting at least one chapter to the immense initiative furnished by the University of Chicago and the institutions that surround it? What has been the influence of Vanderbilt University in Methodism? What of the powerful support given by American poets, reformers, and social workers? What of the discussions over slavery, temperance, and industrial betterment?

But once having accepted the limitations of personal sketches, we can enjoy a book rich in sympathy, insight, and loyal friendship.

Elizabeth Cary Agassiz: a Biography. By Lucy Allen Paton. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. xi, 423, \$3.00.)

Those who remember Mrs. Agassiz in her later years will probably agree that at first sight she looked impressive; that her features were often in repose; that you could hardly imagine her ever to have dressed with much attention to the whims of any passing fashion; and that you might therefore have expected her to be a little formidable. She never was. In a generation which still preserved the distinction of older New England, she was conspicuous for instinctive good-breeding. You felt her, too, by nature as kind as she was strong. The simplicity of her dignity implied her calm poise of judgment. Though she never seemed brilliant, she could quietly hold her own with anybody anywhere; for her intelligence was not only flexible enough instantly to understand whatever was said, in any mood, but furthermore was balanced by a delicate sense of humor. She was a woman of quality; the last things you could think of in her presence were sentimentality and priggishness.

Ironically enough, the lady charged with the duty of writing her official biography appears so reverently to admire these maidenly qualities as to feel that she must enrich with them a memory presently to be legendary. If this were her object, she may be commended for having achieved it—but at the expense of recognizable portraiture. This is the more regrettable because any other account of Mrs. Agassiz's life is unlikely to appear. So far as this book survives, it will probably lead the future to suppose that a great lady of New England was a belated offshoot of the Swiss Family Robinson.

The literary skill and historical acumen of the writer may be inferred from two or three passages taken almost at random. Of James Perkins she writes (p. 6): "Grave and courteous in manner and upright in principles he found his friends among such men as Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Paul Revere"—that is, men whom the fashionable prejudice of eighteenth-century Boston regarded as a demagogue, a madman, and a master-craftsman. Again (p. 51), when touching on the school kept by Mrs. Agassiz at Cambridge, she tells us: "She was the originator and guiding star, although the brilliant light of Agassiz gave it perhaps its more distinctive lustre." If Miss Agnes Irwin preserves in heaven the humor which made her delightful on earth, she will enjoy the innocent caricature of herself on page 260. Judge Hoar may be less patient above when he finds his fun embalmed in a phase almost babyish (pp. 268 ff.). As to Radcliffe College the book tells little or nothing not better stated in formal reports.

BARRETT WENDELL.

My Generation: an Autobiographical Interpretation. By William Jewett Tucker, President Emeritus of Dartmouth College. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. xv, 464, \$4.00.) President Tucker has given us more than an autobiography. He has pictured from the inside the religious and educational ideals of New England

during the last eighty years, and given us an intimate appraisal of leaders and tendencies in the great mental and spiritual struggles of his "generation".

Reviewing briefly his thirteen years as minister of two churches, the writer passes to his thirteen years as professor in Andover Theological Seminary when Andover was "a storm-centre and a working centre". The great theological controversy which shook New England is clearly outlined. In it Dr. Tucker manfully bore his part, but his dominant interests were never in theology but in "social economics".

In 1893 Dr. Tucker accepted the invitation which in the previous year he had declined and became president of Dartmouth College. There for sixteen years he exercised an unusual personal influence—largely through the famous chapel talks delivered on Sunday afternoons—and saw the college expand in all directions.

He found at Dartmouth an institution which like all the colonial colleges had been through storm and stress, and its early heroisms and adventures he capitalized immediately. The vivid episodes and colorful experiences of the early "Indian School" he made to live again in the minds of all Dartmouth students and alumni. At the same time with rare sagacity he healed the breach between the college and the state of New Hampshire, so that soon the legislature which once tried to seize the college and transform its character was appropriating \$40,000 a year for its support. Furthermore, by his understanding of young men and his power to interpret them to themselves, he drew students from great distances and nationalized the institution.

So far as the autobiography discloses, President Tucker has not held or expounded any special philosophy of education. It may not be too much to say that he is more interested in institutions than in educational creeds. "It was institutional loyalty that held me at Andover; it is the same principle which now sends me to Dartmouth." He has little to say of the value of technical scholarship, and praises English scholarship as being "more distinctly moral than intellectual". He rebukes "intellectualism", and affirms that the function of the college is not to transmit the culture of the past, but rather to reproduce its creative spirit. Evidently he could have no sympathy with William James's declaration concerning Harvard graduates: "Our irreconcilables are our proudest product."

But amid opinions which one may accept or debate, there are many helpful insights, many utterances of high administrative sagacity, and the book closes with a moving appeal for patience and optimism.

Mensch en Menigte in Amerika: Vier Essays over Moderne Beschavingsgeschiedenis. Door J. Huizinga. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1918, pp. xi, 226.) Your best cosmopolite is the Dutchman, yet sometimes your Dutchman's intellectual sympathies are bounded

within the limits of the best civilization of Western Europe, but here is one who has been impressed, to such a degree as few Europeans we know, with the American spirit, who, without visiting America, has by diligent study of a surprising range of books entered sympathetically into that spirit. and has set forth its characteristics with great penetration, skill, and completeness of view. Independence and union, the development of American economic and social life, of political ideas and practices, of moral feeling, of "movements", of tastes, and of literature, are all so well set forth that one could heartily wish the book a larger circulation in Europe than any book written in Dutch is likely to obtain. Its foundation was a series of lectures which the author gave in the academic year 1917-1918 at the University of Leiden.

The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes, by W. Stewart Wallace. [University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, vol. III., no. 2.] (Toronto, University Librarian, 1919, pp. 135, \$1.00.) The letters here printed have been taken from the correspondence of the Hardwicke family in the British Museum. They were written by Francis Maseres, who was appointed by the Rockingham ministry attorney general for the province of Quebec, and with four exceptions were written to Fowler Walker, agent in London for the merchants of the province. The letters are followed by five appendixes containing letters and documents written by other hands on subjects illustrated by the correspondence.

Associated with Maseres in the new government were Governor Guy Carleton and Chief Justice William Hey. Their selection was due to a conscientious attempt on the part of the ministry to give the northern province a good administration which would correct the evils brought on it by the mistakes of the Proclamation of 1763. On the whole the attorney general, in spite of his fluency in the French language, proved himself less fitted than his companions for his work. He was never able to overcome the prejudices of his Huguenot ancestry.

The letters, which constitute a unique collection of contemporary private correspondence from the province, throw light on many events of the time. The clash of the military with the civilian party is in particular illuminated by the writer's account of the Thomas Walker affair. The historian will, however, turn to the pages for information on the civil administration and on the efforts of the officials to correct the chaos that existed in the law. Many pages are devoted to this subject, and the screen is often removed from before scenes in the office of the governor. The information is not as specific as might be hoped; but no historian of the future who wishes to write on the beginnings of British Canada can neglect these letters. The editor is to be complimented on the clarity of his editorial apparatus.

C. W. ALVORD.

The Hispanic Nations of the New World: a Chronicle of our Southern Neighbors. By William R. Shepherd. [Chronicles of America series, vol. L.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 251.) This booklet aims to describe the history of the Hispanic nations of America from the end of the eighteenth century to the present time. In typographical appearance it is admirable. It contains three maps and eight portraits. The sketch opens with a description of political and social conditions in Brazil and the Indies about 1783. Then follows an account of the movements that culminated in the independence of Brazil and the Spanish-American nations. A chapter entitled the Age of the Dictators deals with the years from 1830 to 1854 when dictators dashed across the Spanish-American stage very frequently. The author describes the interposition of Spain in the Dominican Republic and French intervention in Mexico. An account is given of the changes that took place in Hispanic America from 1876 to 1889. Scant notice is paid to the Pan-American Conferences, the Hague Conferences, and our policy toward the Caribbean republics. The longest chapter is concerned with certain phases in the recent history of the republics of South America. Short accounts of some contemporary events in Hispanic America close the volume.

Like other volumes in *The Chronicles of America*, this little book contains no scientific foot-notes. Its bibliographical note, which omits some good English titles and mentions only two titles in Spanish or Portuguese, is plainly not intended for the specialist. Here and there the reviewer was impressed with a lack of exactness in the statements of the author. The economic condition and the commercial relations of the huge area under consideration are neglected. Yet, despite its limitations, this booklet furnishes a kaleidoscopic survey of Hispanic-American history that should interest the general reader.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The headquarters of the American Historical Association in the house of the Royal Historical Society at 22 Russell Square has been given up, because of the opportunity offered American students in general by the establishment and maintenance in London of the British Division of the American University Union. At 50 Russell Square, headquarters of that union and of the British Universities Bureau, American students of history, as of other subjects, will find helpful guidance and opportunities of mutual association. The director of the British Division is Dr. George E. MacLean, formerly president of the University of Iowa.

Professor Eugene C. Barker is preparing for publication by the Historical Manuscripts Commission the collection of manuscripts and printed documents known as the Austin Papers, bequeathed to the University of Texas by Col. Guy M. Bryan, grandson of Moses Austin. The papers deal particularly with the business of the Austins in Philadelphia, Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. Professor Barker would be glad to communicate with persons knowing of any other letters or writings of the Austins.

For the benefit of the special committee on the historical congress which is to be held at Rio de Janeiro in 1923, members of the American Historical Association who have any expectation of attending that congress are requested to notify the managing editor of this journal.

PERSONAL

Dr. Isaac Sharpless, who for thirty years, 1887-1917, was the honored president of Haverford College, died on January 16, at the age of seventy-one. His historical works were confined to the special field of the history of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, which they illuminated with much learning and fairness, insight and judgment. They were, *A Quaker Experiment in Government* (1898), *Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History* (1900), *Quakerism and Politics* (1906), and *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (1919), reviewed on an earlier page of this present number.

Robert M. Johnston, professor of modern history in Harvard University, died on January 28 at the age of fifty-two, of an illness aggravated by two years' service with the American Expeditionary Force in France, where he represented the Historical Branch of the General Staff. Educated chiefly in England, but also in France, Germany, and

the United States, he was professor in Bryn Mawr College in 1907-1908 and had been at Harvard since that date. His most important works concerned Italian history, *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy* (1904) and *Mémoire de Marie Caroline, Reine de Naples* (1912), but he also wrote extensively on military history and was one of the editors of the *Military Historian and Economist*.

George L. Beer died on March 15, aged 47. He was the author of excellent books on the colonial period of American history: *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (1907); *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (1908); and *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754* (1912). He also had an important part in the historical work done for the American representatives at the Peace Conference.

Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S. J., professor of Maryland colonial history in Georgetown University for some twenty years past, and author of various writings on the Catholic history of the colonies, died on January 27 at the age of seventy-nine.

Thomas M. Owen, who since 1901 had been the efficient director of the Department of Archives and History in the state government of Alabama, died on March 25, aged fifty-three.

Ethelbert O. S. Scolefield, librarian of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, and also provincial archivist, died on December 25, 1919, at the age of forty-four, after long illness. He had been provincial librarian for twenty-two years and with enthusiastic and tireless labor had built up both the library and archives into very important repositories of historical material.

Professor Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, author of numerous works in German history, died in Berlin on November 5, 1919, aged seventy-one.

Friends of the late Archdeacon Cunningham propose, as a permanent memorial to him, to place an appropriate window in St. Andrew's Chapel in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, the church of which he was vicar from 1887 to 1908. Contributions may be sent to the present vicar of St. Mary's, Rev. C. L. Hulbert.

Professor Wallace Notestein of the University of Minnesota has accepted election as professor of English history in Cornell University, and will begin teaching there in October.

Dr. R. W. Kelsey of Haverford College has been promoted to the full rank of professor of history.

Dr. George F. Zook, professor of history in the Pennsylvania State College, has resigned that position to take charge of the division of higher education in the Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. A. E. Martin has succeeded him in the department of history, political science, and economics at the college.

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has been appointed director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome for the year 1920-1921.

Dr. E. Merton Coulter, formerly professor of political science and economics in Marietta College, Ohio, has been elected associate professor of history in the University of Georgia.

In the University of Wisconsin, Professor Mikhail Rostovtsev, formerly of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, has been appointed professor of history for the academic year 1920-1921. Professor Rostovtsev, who was chairman of the ancient history section of the Berlin Historical Congress of 1908, is now in residence at Oxford University, and will come to America in the autumn. Assistant-professor E. H. Byrne has been advanced to the rank of associate professor. Professor Beverley W. Bond of Purdue University has been appointed lecturer in English history for the second semester of this year. Professor A. L. P. Dennis has resigned his connection with the university.

Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon has accepted election as superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and begins work there April 1.

At the Iowa State College, Mr. Louis B. Schmidt has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history. Mr. Albert B. Moore becomes assistant professor.

Dr. F. F. Stephens has been promoted from assistant professor to professor of American history in the University of Missouri.

Mr. J. W. Taylor of Wisconsin has been made professor of European history in the University of North Dakota. In the North Dakota Agricultural College the departments of history and social science have been separated and the former, which will give especial attention to agricultural and industrial history, has been put in charge of Dr. Earle D. Ross, who last year held the professorship of history in the Illinois Wesleyan University.

Professor Edward Krehbiel of Stanford University resigned his professorship in November to enter into commercial life; during the winter and spring Dr. Henry B. Learned of Washington has taken his place.

GENERAL

We have had the great pleasure of receiving *fasciculus* IV. of tom. XXXIII. of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, of which fasc. III. was published on July 22, 1914. In a dignified but moving prefatory note the Bollandist fathers set forth the calamities to which warfare and German rule subjected their enterprise during the intervening years, culminating in the arrest, in January, 1918, of the president of the group (then reduced to two members) Father Hippolyte Delehaye, who remained in prison nine

months. Now, though with resources sadly diminished, this venerable society, with undiminished courage, resumes the age-long labors to which it has been devoted with such signal profit to the learned world. In a little volume lately published, *À travers Trois Siècles: l'Oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915* (Brussels, pp. 284), Father Delehaye presents an interesting history of the society's work, to be more fully noticed later in this journal. In the present number of the *Analecta*, the most noteworthy contribution is an article on the canonization of saints in the Russian church, by Father Paul Peeters, Bollandist. The four numbers of 1920 will form vol. XXXVIII. Vols. XXXIV.-XXXVII. (1915-1919) are in preparation and will be sold as they are completed, along with the completing portions and index of M. Ulysse Chevalier's *Reperitorium Hymnologicum*. The annual subscription, for countries of the Postal Union, will hereafter be twenty francs.

World History is the subject of the annual Raleigh Lecture, delivered before the British Academy in 1919 by Viscount Bryce, and published by Milford.

Right Hon. Herbert A. L. Fisher, president of the British Board of Education, has published a volume of *Studies in History and Politics* through the Oxford University Press.

Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft an den Führenden Werken betrachtet (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. xi, 461) is by Professor Moritz Ritter.

Papers on the Legal History of Government: Difficulties Fundamental and Artificial, by Melville M. Bigelow, includes studies of the Unity of Government, the Family in English History, Medieval English Sovereignty, the Old Jury, and Becket and the Law (Little, Brown, and Company).

Seals and Documents (Milford, pp. 21) is the subject of a paper contributed to the British Academy by Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, keeper of the archives at Oxford.

Dr. J. Holland Rose's inaugural lecture as Vere Harmsworth professor of naval history at Cambridge treats of *Naval History and National History* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 46).

J. Combarieu has completed his *Histoire de la Musique des Origines au Début du XX^e Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1920, pp. 670) with a third volume covering the period since the death of Beethoven.

A. H. Keane's *Man, Past and Present* (Cambridge University Press) has been revised and largely re-written by A. Hingston Quiggin and A. C. Haddon.

An Introduction to Anthropology (Macmillan, pp. ix, 259), by the Rev. E. O. James, is a general survey of the early history of the human race.

Totem and Taboo (Routledge, pp. xii, 268), by Professor Sigmund Freud, deals with resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and of neurotics. The translation is by A. A. Brill.

To the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for December Mr. George F. Black contributes a valuable list of works relating to lycanthropy, to that of January a list on Druids and Druidism.

The late Sir Clements Markham's work on *Arctic and Antarctic Exploration*, edited by Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard, and illustrated with maps and photographs, will shortly be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-eighth annual meeting in New York on February 22 and 23. Among the papers read we note one by Professor Gotthard Deutsch on the Talmud as Source-Material for Jewish History; one by Dr. Harry Friedenwald on Jewish Physicians in Italy, and their relation to the Papal and Italian states; and one by Max J. Kohler on Jewish Civic Activity and Patriotism during the Civil War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. F. Steffen, *Die Weltgeschichte* (Neue Rundschau, July); H. E. Barnes, *Psychology and History* (American Journal of Psychology, October).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The syndics of the Cambridge University Press have undertaken to publish in eight volumes, on the same general plan as their modern and medieval histories, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, to be prepared by various specialists under the editorship of Professor J. B. Bury, Mr. S. A. Cook and Mr. F. D. Adcock.

Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's book, *Some Sources of Human History* (S. P. C. K., pp. 128) contains three chapters—Unwritten History, dealing with early civilizations, centres of culture, roads, names, art; Byways of Written History, referring to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, India, China, ancient science, coins, etc.; and Habit, Custom, and Law, touching on ancient law, property, wills, slavery, etc.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has lately published vol. III. of the late Professor W. Max Müller's *Egyptological Researches*, a quarto of 88 pages and 41 plates, entitled *The National Uprising against the Ptolemaic Dynasty according to the Two Bilingual Inscriptions of Philae*.

The Yale University Press has begun the publication, in five volumes, of the collection of Babylonian records in the library of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, and has also issued in its Oriental series a volume of some two hundred *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, chiefly relating to affairs of the temple at that place, and edited by Professor Albert T.

Clay. In another volume of the same series, entitled *Syria and the Powers: the Eastern Question in 1860*, Dr. J. F. Scheltema translates an Arabic manuscript containing an account, by an intelligent native Christian, of the outbreak of religious hatred in that year between the Druses and the Maronites, and provides an introduction establishing its place in history and its relation to the Eastern Question. The Yale University Press also announces a *Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions*, edited by some of our chief Semitic scholars and presented in transliteration and translation. The enterprise is an important one, involving many volumes of inscriptions from the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, Arabia, and the lands to the westward.

A committee formed for the purpose by joint action of the British Academy and the Palestine Exploration Fund is providing for a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, intended to facilitate the researches of scholars into all periods of Palestinian history, to provide instruction and guidance for students, to train archaeological excavators and administrators, and to co-operate with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Arrangements have been concluded for cordial collaboration with the American School of Oriental Research. A site for the school has been secured. Professor J. Garstang is to be its first director. Under the new régime in Palestine and Mesopotamia great progress is to be expected.

Discovery in Greek Lands, by F. H. Marshall, an illustrated account of archaeological discoveries in Greece since 1870, is announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

The *Loeb Classical Library*, which has now grown to one hundred volumes, has lately been increased by the publication of the eighth volume of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Professor Bernadotte Perrin, and of the first volumes of *Livy*, namely books I. and II., with an English translation by Dr. B. O. Foster of Stanford University. The text is that of Weissenborn and Müller. The translation seems very good, though the fact that another, by Canon Roberts, is in course of publication in *Everyman's Library*, would seem to make it less necessary than versions of some other classics. A translation of *Thucydides* in four volumes, by C. Foster Smith of the University of Wisconsin, is also begun, volume I. embracing the first two books. The introduction and bibliography, somewhat strangely, make no mention of Jowett's or other existing translations. The present version seems careful and smooth.

W. W. Fowler has published through the Oxford University Press a volume entitled *Roman Essays and Interpretations*.

Dr. Donald McFayden, of the University of Nebraska, in a Chicago dissertation on *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire* (University of Chicago Press, 1920, pp. 67), written with much

learning and logical acuteness, discusses chiefly the reasons for the use of *Imperator* as a *praenomen*. It was so used by Julius and Augustus, but not by the succeeding emperors until Vespasian, who resumed it and from whose time it was in permanent use. Dr. McFayden makes pertinent criticisms of the somewhat artificial explanations advanced by Mommsen and others, and advances sensible suggestions, well fortified.

The first volume of *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturentwicklung aus der Zeit von Cäsar bis auf Karl den Grossen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1918, pp. xi, 404) has been published by Alfons Dopsch.

The *Loeb Classical Library's* Procopius (Putnam), in its third volume, advances the *Histories* through the first two books of the Gothic Wars, books V. and VI.

Stéphane Gsell has issued the fourth volume of his monumental work on the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Hachette, 1920), which deals with Carthaginian civilization.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Schäfer, *Die Anfänge der Reformation Amenophis des IV.* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, XXVI.); G. A. Reisner, *Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia* (Harvard Theological Review, January); A. Piganiol, *Les Attributions Militaires et les Attributions Religieuses du Tribunat de la Plèbe* (Journal des Savants, September); O. Viedebantt, *Hannibals Alpenübergang: eine Quellenkritische Vorstudie* (Hermes, LIV. 4); H. Oort, *Apollonius van Tyana* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LIII. 4); K. Benz, *Die Mithrasmysterien* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); D. McFayden, *The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution* (American Journal of Theology, January); T. Birt, *Julian der Abtrünnige* (Deutsche Rundschau, August, September).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor E. von Dobschütz has edited *Die Hermes-Mystik und das Neue Testament* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918, pp. xxi, 242) of Professor C. F. G. Heinrici.

Die Reste der Primitiven Religion im Aeltesten Christentum (Giesen, Töpelmann, 1916, pp. viii, 172) is a recent contribution of Professor Carl Clemen of Bonn to the history of the origins of Christianity.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is publishing *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, edited by B. J. Kidd. The first volume extends to A. D. 313.

Writings of Clement of Alexandria—the Exhortation to the Greeks, the Rich Man's Salvation, and the fragment of an address entitled To the Newly Baptized—are published in Greek text, with English translation by G. W. Butterworth, in the *Loeb Classical Library* (Heinemann, Putnam).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Lietzmann, *Die Urform des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, XVII.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Die Kaiserkrönungen in Rom und die Römer von Karl den Grossen bis Friedrich II., 800-1250 (Freiburg, Herder, 1919) is a contribution by Gerda Bäseler to the history of the Holy Roman Empire.

Mr. G. D. H. Cole, general editor of Methuen's new *Library of Social Studies*, will contribute to that series, in collaboration with M. I. Cole, a work on *Industry in the Middle Ages*.

F. Schneider has made a study of *Der Europäische Friedenskongress von Arras, 1435, und die Friedenspolitik Papst Eugens IV. und des Basler Konzils* (Greiz, Henning, 1919, pp. xvi, 230).

Medals of the Renaissance (Oxford University Press, pp. 204, 30 plates), by G. F. Hill, contains many portraits of historic personages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Olier, *Petri Johannis Oliivi, De Renuntiatione Papae Coelestini V., Quaestio et Epistola* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, XI. 3); M. van Rhijn, *Middeleeuwse en Reformatorische Bijbelbeschouwing* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LIII. 4); J. M. Lenhart, O.M. Cap., *The "Open Bible" in Pre-Reformation Times* (Catholic World, February).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Rev. Robert H. Murray's *Erasmus and Luther* (S.P.C.K., pp. xxiii, 503) deals particularly with their attitude toward toleration.

Professor Auguste Leman of Lille has edited a *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de France de 1624 à 1634* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 218) and has written an extended study of *Urbain VIII. et la Rivalité de la France et de la Maison d'Autriche de 1631 à 1635* (*ibid.*, pp. xx, 623).

The latest of F. M. Kircheisen's admirably illustrated contributions to the history of the Napoleonic period is *Napoleon im Lande der Pyramiden und seine Nachfolger, 1798-1801* (Munich, Müller, 1918, pp. xii, 356, 100 illustrations).

Dr. J. T. Merz, the author of *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, has brought out a volume supplementary to that work, entitled *A Fragment of the Human Mind* (Blackwood, pp. xv, 309).

A history of *Le Concile du Vatican d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919), is by Professor Fernand Mourret of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

The *Handbook for the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia and Africa, 1870-1914* (pp. 482), prepared under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service by Professors F. M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College, and A. S. Hershey, of the University of Indiana, under considerable pressure, but with the aid of many assisting contributors, for the uses of the Department of State in connection with the impending negotiations at Versailles, was for a time not procurable by the public. Now however copies can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, and many students will be glad to have this, not faultless but highly convenient, manual of modern diplomatic history, each section of which, beside concise but careful statements respecting facts and events, comprises excellent brief bibliographies.

The detailed diary of M. Korostovetz, when acting as secretary to Count Witte, at the Russo-Japanese peace conference at Portsmouth, N. H., in 1905, is included, together with the treaty, in the book entitled *Pre-War Diplomacy: the Russo-Japanese Problem* (pp. 160).

The new volume of Bismarck's *Memoirs*, covering his last years and his final relations with the Kaiser, is announced for early publication by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, who also have in preparation *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar, 1894-1914*, which have already appeared serially in certain newspapers. Later they will issue, in four volumes, a full and authoritative account of *The Peace Conference of Paris*, written by expert persons having first-hand knowledge of the inner workings of the conference, and edited by Majors (Professors) W. V. Temperley and C. K. Webster.

Viscount Haldane vindicates the policy of the government between January, 1906, and August, 1914, in a volume entitled *Before the War* (Cassell, pp. 208).

Diplomatic Reminiscences, by A. Nekludoff, translated from the French by Lady Alexander Paget and published by John Murray, records the observations of one who was Russian minister at Sofia in 1912 and 1913 and at Stockholm from 1914 to 1917, with abundant information also on affairs in Russia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. P. Whitney, *Erasmus* (English Historical Review, January); P. Kalkoff, *Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte Hadrians VI.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); H. von Grauert, *Zur Geschichte des Weltfriedens, des Völkerrechts, und der Idee einer Liga der Nationen*, I. (*ibid.*); A. Fournier, *Die Pariser Friedenskonferenz von 1814; eine Historische Parallele* (Deutsche Rundschau, July); G. Lagny, *L'Angleterre et la France et les Stipulations Financières du Traité du 20 Novembre 1815, 1815-1818* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); P. Sagnac, *La Crise de l'Occident et la Question du Rhin: Essai sur l'Esprit Public en France et en Allemagne, 1830-1840*, I. (Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes, November-December);

E. Daniels, *Englisch-Französische Disharmonien: der Rückversicherungsvertrag vom 18. Juni 1887* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); A. Iswolsky, *Souvenirs de mon Ministère, III., Nicolas II. et Guillaume II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1).

THE GREAT WAR

The Library of Congress has reprinted its *Checklist of Literature and other Material in the Library of Congress on the European War*.

C. Daniélou has added a third volume to his work on *Responsabilités et Buts de Guerre* (Paris, Figuière, 1919). On the same subject A. Bazerque has contributed *Les Origines de la Guerre Mondiale: Responsabilités Lointaines et Responsabilités Immédiates* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. vi, 335). I. E. Guéchoff has naturally dealt mainly with Balkan matters in *La Genèse de la Guerre Mondiale* (Berne, Lib. Académique, 1919, pp. 165).

Der Weg zur Katastrophe (Berlin, Reiss, 1919), by K. F. Nowak, has an introduction by Field-Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf and contains much new information. The volume has already passed through numerous editions.

A Swiss diplomat, Dr. Cuno Hofer, has undertaken to recount the political history of the war and has already issued two volumes, *Die Keime des Grossen Krieges* (French edition: *Les Germes de la Grande Guerre*) and *Der Ausbruch des Grossen Krieges* (Zurich, Schulthess).

The Creighton Lecture for 1919, *The War and the European Revolution in relation to History*, by G. M. Trevelyan, has been published by the University of London Press, and is a stimulating and liberal-minded survey.

Professor A. F. Pollard's *Short History of the Great War* (Methuen) is one of the best accounts in one small volume; Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher has compressed into about 200 pages *A Short History of the War* (Murray).

The third volume of Hermann Stegemann's excellent *Geschichte des Krieges* (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt) begins with an account of the war on sea from August 2, 1914, to February 24, 1915, and ends with fifty pages on the Gallipoli campaign.

General Percin has endeavored in *1914: les Erreurs du Haut Commandement* (Paris, Michel, 1920) to fix on certain high officials of the French army the responsibility for the invasion of France in 1914 and hence for the prolongation of the war. *La Genèse de la Bataille de la Marne, Septembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1919) is described by General H. Le Gros. General Cordonnier, a friend of General Nivelle, has replied to the recent volume of the ex-premier Paul Painlevé in *L'Arrêt de*

l'Offensive d'Avril 1917 (Paris, La Renaissance, 1919) which sets forth new facts and documents.

The English version of General von Kluck's book on *The March on Paris and the Battle of the Marne*, running from August 2 to September 16, 1914, has been published (London, Arnold) with notes by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense.

Der Grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen: die Schlacht bei Mons (Oldenburg, Stalling), is the latest of the series of German Great General Staff war-monographs, which, owing to the breakup of the general staff, will be indefinitely suspended. Earlier numbers of the series dealt with *Die Schlacht bei Longwy*, and with *Kämpfe in der Champagne (Winter 1914, Herbst 1915)*. The Great General Staff has also issued an analytical diary of the war, listing battles, fights, troops engaged, etc., under the title *Die Schlachten und Gefechte des Grossen Krieges, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Sack).

M. Maurice Barrès provides an introduction to *Behind the Scenes at German Headquarters* (Hurst and Blackett), by Henri Domelier, secretary of the municipal commission at the French town of Charleville, where the German General Staff had its headquarters from August, 1914, to the end of 1916, and the Kaiser and his personal household their residence.

General von Ludendorff defends himself, against the charge of losing the war, in three long pamphlets, *Das Scheitern der Neutralen Friedensvermittlung, August, September, 1918*; *Das Friedens- und Waffenstillstandsangebot*; and *Das Verschieben der Verantwortlichkeit* (Berlin, Mittler).

Der Europäische Krieg in Aktenmässiger Darstellung (Leipzig, Meiner), edited by Dr. F. Purlitz, has appeared as part of *Der Deutsche Geschichtskalender*, covering the history of the war from the outbreak to March, 1918, in eight volumes in twelve parts. Supplementary volumes have also been issued under the titles *Vom Waffenstillstand zum Frieden von Versailles*, *Die Deutsche Reichsverfassung*, containing the preliminary drafts and the final form of the new constitution; and *Diplomatische Enthüllungen*. The volumes contain many of the important documents of the political and diplomatic history of the war and the ensuing events. The same editor and publisher have begun the issue of *Die Deutsche Revolution*, of which the first volume covers events to February, 1919.

"*La Gazette des Ardennes*", *son Histoire, son Organisation, ses Collaborateurs* (Paris, Tallandier, 1919) is mainly a compilation of materials by G. Le Rouge and L. Chassereau on the notorious journal published and circulated by the Germans in the occupied territories of France during the war.

My Campaign in Mesopotamia (Thornton Butterworth), by Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Townshend, includes an account of his experiences as a prisoner of war, and his share in bringing about the Turkish surrender.

A German account of the naval phases of the Great War is *Der See- und Kolonialkrieg, 1914-1916, eine Schilderung der Ruhmestaten Deutscher Seeleute und Schutztruppen im Weltkriege* (vol. I., Halle, Mühlmann, 1919, pp. vi, 454) by Rear-Admiral M. Foss.

Admiral von Scheer's account of *Germany's High Sea Fleet in the World War* and the English edition of Marshal von Hindenburg's recollections, *Out of My Life*, are being issued by Cassell. The latter volume treats mainly of the World War.

Two volumes of the *History of the Great War* prepared by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense are already on the point of publication by John Murray in London and by Messrs. Longmans in New York: volume I. of *The Merchant Navy in the War*, by Archibald Hurd, and volume I. of *Seaborne Trade*, by C. Ernest Fayle, both based on official documents supplied by the Admiralty, the Board of Trade, and the Ministry of Shipping, and illustrating aspects of modern warfare almost new to historians. *Merchantmen-at-Arms: the British Merchants' Service in the War* (London, Chatto and Windus), by David W. Bone, sets forth in excellent fashion, though unofficially, a part of the same important aspect of the history of the war. The first volume of the Committee's *Naval History of the War* is issued about the present time. The official narrative of the battle of Jutland is expected to be published soon after. The Admiralty are in possession of a report by Admiral von Scheer, the German commander-in-chief in that battle, and will publish it as an appendix to the official narrative.

The volumes of *Memories and Records* by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher (London, Hodder and Stoughton) forms, whatever criticisms its self-assertion and pungency of expression may have provoked, an important contribution to naval history by a very able man.

Those who read from time to time in the newspapers the current comments of Captain L. Persius on German naval warfare will be much interested in *Der Seekrieg* (Charlottenburg, Weltbühne), a volume in which he says many interesting things, and many that he was in war-time not permitted to publish. Much light on such censorship is, by the way, conveyed in a very interesting book, *Was Wir als Kriegsberichterstatter nicht sagen dürften* (Munich, the author), by H. Binder, formerly official war correspondent with the German Supreme Command and now a Bavarian pressman, protesting against the methods of the press bureau of the Great General Staff.

The late Sir Edward Cook left ready for publication (London, Macmillan) an essay entitled *The Press in War-time, with some Account of*

the Official Press Bureau, of which bureau he was during the latter part of the war the official head.

While the following works are primarily technical accounts of the organization and activities of the respective branches of the service, they obviously afford much information of interest to the historical student. *L'Aéronautique pendant la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Brunoff, 1919, pp. 750) is by M. Marchis, professor of aviation at the Sorbonne; and *Les Services Automobiles pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Delagrave, 1920) by A. Navarre, secretary of the Automobile Union of France.

Strategic Camouflage: the Probing of a German Secret (London, Murray), by Solomon J. Solomon, R. A., who initiated the Camouflage Corps in the British army, is largely devoted to an exposition of the remarkable and vast landscape camouflage system employed by the Germans to conceal their great offensive of March, 1918.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has issued a study entitled *Effects of the War on Money, Credit, and Banking in France and the United States* (pp. 227), by B. M. Anderson, Ph.D. The monograph constitutes no. 15 of the series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*.

Dr. E. J. Dillon's *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (Harper) is the work of a journalist than whom no member of his craft present at Versailles had better information or a greater amount of pertinent experience.

A Kommentar zum Friedensvertrage von Versailles has been prepared by the competent hands of Dr. Walther Schücking, and is issued in five octavo volumes, with an additional volume containing texts of the pertinent diplomatic documents. The series may be obtained from Martinus Nijhoff, in the Hague, the price being about 150 marks.

L'Allemagne Vaincue (Paris, Bossard, 1920) is the somewhat misleading title of a volume by E. Lémonon on diplomatic events from 1917 through the peace conference. *Les Nouvelles Frontières d'Allemagne et la Nouvelle Carte d'Europe* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xxxvi, 176) is by Charles Benoist, who has recently been compelled to discontinue his fortnightly political reviews in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* because of his appointment as French minister at the Hague.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. W. Foerster, *Zur Frage der Deutschen Schuld am Weltkrieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); L. Madelin, *La Bataille de France*, VI.-VII. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1, 15); Marshal Pétain, *Rapport sur les Opérations de la II^e Armée en Champagne* (Les Archives de la Grande Guerre, December); Lieut.-Col. de Thomasson, *Les Mémoires de Falkenhayn* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, December 20); General Buat, *Un Homme de Guerre Allemand: Ludendorff* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15, January 1); H.

Delbrück, *Ludendorff* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); E. Daniels, *Die Erinnerungen des Botschafters Morgenthau* (*ibid.*); Munroe Smith, *War Books by American Diplomats* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*, by Dr. R. W. Chambers, will be brought out by the Cambridge University Press.

L. M. Hewlett's book on *Anglo-Gallic Coins* (A. H. Baldwin and Sons, pp. xvi, 278, plates) is reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and covers the period from the reign of Henry II. to that of Henry VI.

The Yale School of Law intends to publish, through the Yale University Press, a series of *Early English Law Texts*, prepared under the general editorship of Dr. George E. Woodbine. New editions of early legal treatises come first, such as Ranulf de Glanville's *Tractatus de Legibus* and Ralph de Hengham's *Summae, Magna et Parva*, and *Fleta*, and Fortescue *De Laudibus*; later, it is planned to issue some unpublished materials dealing with the early development of English law.

Messrs. Longmans have lately published for the Manchester University Press the first two (of four) volumes of a work entitled *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Seals*, upon which Professor T. F. Tout has been engaged for several years. These two volumes extend through the reign of Edward II.; two more will carry on the subject to the revolution of 1399. Professor Tout's short story of *Medieval Forgers and Forgeries* (pp. 31), has been brought out by the same publishers.

An important work on *The Evolution of Parliament* by Professor A. F. Pollard is being published by Longmans. Its object is to clear away the fictions of the seventeenth and later centuries relating to the origins and development of parliamentary institutions.

G. Brodnitz carries his narrative to the sixteenth century in the first volume of his *Englische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, Fischer, 1918, pp. vii, 516).

The Royal Historical Society has added to its Camden Series two volumes, *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, respecting which the editor, C. L. Kingsford, states that next to the Paston letters they are by far the most considerable collection of private correspondence of the fifteenth century which has come to light.

The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions, by Miss Margaret Deanesly of Newnham College, is a large work based on original documents, announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

R. B. Mowat, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, writes of *Henry V.* in the *Kings and Queens of England* series, published by Constable.

England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485 (Longmans, pp. xx, 280), a source-book compiled by Isobel D. Thornley, of University College, includes a preface by Professor A. F. Pollard.

The Oxford University Press has lately published *Four Centres of Greek Learning in England*, the inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford in March, 1914, by the late Ingram Bywater, as regius professor of Greek.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing Dr. G. C. Williamson's *Life of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland*, which portrays Cumberland not only as an Elizabethan buccaneer, but also as soldier and statesman.

In a monograph entitled *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, August, 1919), H. S. V. Jones discusses the fundamental philosophy of Spenser's apology for Grey's Irish policy and the source from which this philosophy was derived.

C. M. Lloyd will contribute a volume on *The British Labour Movement* to Methuen's *Library of Social Studies*.

Two works tracing the development of modern industry are *Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century*, by C. R. Fay, to be published by the Cambridge University Press; and *A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918*, by T. F. Rees of the University of Edinburgh, issued by Methuen.

Portraits of the 'Eighties, by Mr. Horace Hutchinson, containing sketches and recollections of persons prominent in public and social affairs of the period, will be issued through Fisher Unwin.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for January has articles on the causes of the Highland emigrations of 1783-1803, by Margaret I. Adam; Old Edinburgh, by Sir J. B. Paul; a note on Scottish Middle Templars, 1604-1689, with a list of the same, by C. E. A. Bedwell, and the first installment of the minutes of the Fenwick Improvement of Knowledge Society, 1834-1842.

The third and fourth volumes of *Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333* (Oxford University Press) complete this detailed study by G. H. Orpen.

New volumes announced for Fisher Unwin's series *Modern Ireland in the Making*, are Professor Henry's *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*, and *The Constitutional Home Rule Movement*. The former covers the period from the death of Parnell; the latter, from Isaac Butt to the death of John Redmond.

British government publication: *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venice and Northern Italy*, vol. XXII., 1629-1632, ed. A. B. Hinds (pp. lviii, 792).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Jost, *Kirchliche und Religiöse Zustände in England vom Tode König Alfreds bis zur Normannischen Eroberung* (Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift, XXXVI. 5); R. Stewart-Brown, *The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester* (English Historical Review, January); E. R. Turner, *Small Councils and Cabinets in England* (Sewanee Review, January-March); H. H. Brown, *The Old Scots Law of Heresy* (Juridical Review, December); L. M. Sears, *British Industry and the American Embargo* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); R. L. Schuyler, *The British Cabinet, 1916-1919* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

FRANCE

The *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXIX. 497-499, reports the destruction of the archives of the port of Bordeaux in the burning of the naval storehouse of that place in March, 1919. They extended over the years 1726-1879, and their value was of wide scope. Included among them was a series of volumes relating to privateers during the American Revolution. A brief inventory of the archives was printed by M. Lacoste in the *Revue Maritime* for December, 1906.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has recently received the manuscript bibliography of the history of French literature compiled by the late Émile Picot. It comprises over 250,000 cards and is especially valuable for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France, founded shortly before the outbreak of the war, has resumed activity and will publish as its organ a *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*. The general secretary of the society and editor of the *Revue* is Victor Carrière, 212 Rue de Rivoli, Paris. The dues including the subscription to the *Revue* are twenty francs a year.

The development of the regionalist movement in France in the years immediately preceding the war and its effects on war-time legislation and administration are recounted and discussed in *L'Évolution Régionaliste* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. xv, 239) by F. Jean-Desthieux. The volume takes account of the process of decentralization not only in economic and administrative matters but especially in education.

In the fifth and sixth volumes of his masterly *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, Hachette, 1920) M. Camille Jullian deals respectively with the material conditions and with the moral factors of the Gallo-Roman civilization. The governmental conditions were treated in the fourth volume.

Bassompierre's memoirs and accounts of his diplomatic missions are the basis of a two-volume work entitled *A Gallant of Lorraine: François de Bassompierre, Maréchal de France, 1579-1640* (Hurst and Blackett) by H. Noel Williams.

Saint-Simon: la France de Louis XIV. (Paris, Hachette) is the title of a volume of lectures by René Doumic.

The Fall of Feudalism in France, by Sydney Herbert, is to be issued in Methuen's *Library of Social Studies*.

A biographical study of *Frédéric de Dietrich, Premier Maire de Strasbourg sous la Révolution Française* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919), by G. G. Ramon, is a timely publication. Under the title *Un Allemand en France sous la Terreur* (Paris, Perrin, 1920), W. Bauer has translated and edited the souvenirs of Frederick Christian Laukhard. A. Kuscinski has completed the publication of his *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels* (Paris, Rieder, 1919) on which he has been engaged for many years.

An English translation of *The Life of Gambetta*, by Paul Deschanel, president of France, reviewed on a previous page, will be published in London by Heinemann.

Paul Vergnet has attempted to give an account of the several phases of *L'Affaire Caillaux* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Tardif, *Le Procès d'Enguerran de Coucy* [cont.] (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXIX.); Sir Geoffrey Butler, *Roman Law and the New Monarchy in France* (English Historical Review, January); J. H. Mariéjol, *Catherine de Médicis, Dauphine et Reine* (Revue de Paris, January 1); F. K. Mann, *Der Politische Ideengehalt von John Laws Finanzsystem: ein Beitrag zur Staatslehre des Absolutismus* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, August); C. Ballot, *Philippe de Girard et l'Invention de la Filature Mécanique du Lin* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, VII. 2); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII., I.-III.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, 15, January 1); Louise Lévi, *Saint-Just, était-il un Disciple de Robespierre?* (Révolution Française, October); G. Schelle, *Le Relèvement Économique de la France après la Révolution* (Journal des Économistes, November); H. A. Gibbons, *The Caillaux Case* (Century, February).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Two highly important recent contributions to the history of the intellectual development of Italy are Signora V. Benetti-Brunelli's *Le Origini Italiane della Scuola Umanistica* (Rome, Soc. ed. Dante Alighieri), and J. Roger Charbonnel's *La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertain* (Paris, Champion).

Students of Spanish history will welcome the first volume of a series of bibliographies dealing with the *Fuentes de la Historia Española*, compiled by B. Sánchez Alonso, and published, with a prefatory note by Professor R. Altamira, under the auspices of the Junta para Ampliación

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de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos (Madrid, 1919, pp. xxi, 448). This volume lists only printed sources, documents, and works of investigation, including articles in periodicals, which illustrate the national political history of Spain from the ante-Roman period to 1898. The titles, which number nearly 7000, are arranged mainly in chronological order. Sources treating of Hispano-American relations are not included, but will probably be the subject of the next volume.

The second volume of *Estudios Históricos, 1515-1555* (Madrid, Imp. Clásica Española, 1919, pp. 371), by F. de Laiglesia, is concerned with *Organización de la Hacienda en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XVI*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ashby, *Archaeological Research in Italy* (Times Literary Supplement, January 15, 22).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The period from 1197 to 1227 is dealt with in the first part of the sixth volume of Emil Michael's *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom 13. Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, Herder, 1915, pp. xxii, 512). The author is a member of the Society of Jesus and a professor in the University of Innsbruck.

Professor A. Werminghoff's *Ludwig von Eyb der Aeltere, 1417 bis 1502* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1919, pp. xii, 614) is an important contribution to the history of Hohenzollern rule in Brandenburg in the fifteenth century. The volume precludes the publication of the writings of Eyb.

The thirty-second volume of *Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. viii, cxliv, 589) is the seventh on Augsburg and contains the journal of P. H. Mair for the important years 1547-1565, edited with full introduction and apparatus by Professor F. Roth.

As the newest volume of the *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven* has appeared the *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1919, pp. v, 599). The volume covers the period from May, 1663, to December, 1666, and was edited by the late O. Meinardus.

Dr. F. Vollmer has contributed as the fifty-sixth volume of the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* a study of *Die Preussische Volksschulpolitik unter Friedrich dem Grossen* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1918, pp. xiv, 333) which is largely devoted to the General-Landschul-Reglement of August 12, 1763.

Professor Max Lenz has completed his *Geschichte der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses). The third volume contains the account of the associated insti-

tutions, and the fourth volume is made up of documentary materials, while the narrative occupies the earlier volumes.

The *Life of Goethe* prepared by the late Professor P. Hume Brown of Edinburgh is shortly to be published in two volumes by John Murray.

A concise and timely account of *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung: eine Geschichtliche Studie über die Frankfurter Paulskirche* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. viii, 172) is by Veit Valentin.

Eduard Engel has edited *Kaiser Friedrichs Tagebuch, mit Einleitung und Aktenstücken* (Halle, Diekmann, 1919, pp. 153). The volume claims to be the first complete edition but the small amount of new material reveals little excuse for the previous suppression of portions of the diary.

A study of *L'Armée Allemande avant et pendant la Guerre de 1914-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. viii, 368) has been brought out by Professor P. Camena d'Almeida of Bordeaux.

Professor Charles Andler has published a compilation of materials relating to *La Décomposition Politique du Socialisme Allemand, 1914-1917* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 250).

Dr. F. Salomon, whose manuals of German party programmes had considerable currency before the war, has added to that material for students' use a further pamphlet, *Die Neuen Parteiprogramme mit den letzten der Alten Parteien zusammengestellt* (Leipzig, Teubner).

The English edition of the new documents supplementing the recent Austrian Red Book will be brought out by Allen and Unwin (London) under the title *Austrian Red Book: Files pertaining to Pre-War History*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Mediaeval Germany* (American Journal of Theology, January); H. Herre, *Das Reichskriegssteuergesetz vom Jahre 1422* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXVII. 1); O. Schiff, *Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges* (ibid.); B. Duhr, *Die Jesuiten am Hofe zu München in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

De Raad van State nevens Matthias, 1578-1581 (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1917, pp. 145), is the subject of a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Leiden by J. C. H. de Pater.

The first fruits of Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's professorship of colonial history at Leiden will be a series of five large volumes entitled, *Jan Pietersz Coen: Bescheiden omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, which will for the first time set forth with full documentation the work of the founder of the Dutch empire in the East Indies, 1614-1629. Volume I. (pp. xx,

854), comprising the letters sent home by Coen, has already been published by Nijhoff.

J. M. Plante-Fébure has written *West-Indië in het Parlement 1897-1917: Bijdrage tot Nederland's Koloniaal-Politieke Geschiedenis* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1919, pp. 12, 196).

H. Vander Linden's *Belgium: a General Sketch of its History from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Great War*, translated by Sybil Jane, forms a new volume in the series of *Histories of the Nations* published by the Oxford University Press.

The latest issue of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, of Belgium, the publication of which is happily resumed, contains the proceedings of May 4, 1914. The communications consist of: Claus van Lit, *Maître de l'Artillerie de Gand au XIV^e Siècle*, by Napoléon de Pauw; *Petit Manuel d'un Bailli du XV^e Siècle*, by Léo Verriest; and *Avis sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas adressé à l'Archiduc Albert par Philippe de Croy, Comte de Solre*.

Noteworthy article in periodical: C. Terlinden, *The History of the Scheldt*, I. (*History*, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Capt. William P. Cresson, formerly secretary of the American embassy at Petrograd, has written a historical study of *The Cossacks, their History and Country* (New York, Brentano).

Professor Theodor Schiemann has issued the fourth volume of his *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1919, pp. xii, 435) which completes the narrative from 1840 to the close of the reign.

Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg, ein Geschichtlicher Ueberblick (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1919, pp. viii, 590) is an extended study by A. Fischl.

A history of *Russia in Rule and Misrule* (Murray, pp. xii, 241), by Brig.-Gen. C. R. Ballard, records events of the reign of Nicholas II. and of the revolution to 1917 and attempts to present a Russian point of view.

From the pen of General A. A. Noskov (Jason) comes an interesting volume on *Nicolas II. Inconnu; Commandant Suprême, Allié, Chef d'État* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 304).

Émile Laloy has furnished a French translation of *Les Documents Secrets des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Russie publiés par les Bolchéviks* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Dr. Paul Miliukov is publishing through Allen and Unwin a work entitled *Bolshevism an International Danger: its Doctrine and its Practice through War and Revolution*.

The narrative is carried to the end of the reign of Alexander III. in the first volume of the *Histoire du Mouvement Révolutionnaire en Russie* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 320), by J. W. Bienstock, which promises to be the best work in the field. R. Labry has compiled and translated the laws, decrees, and proclamations of the Bolshevist government under the title *Une Législation Communiste* (*ibid.*, pp. xx, 588). *Les Bolchéviks Jugés par Eux-mêmes: Documents des Soviets de 1917* (Paris, Rirachovsky, 1919, pp. 96) is a small compilation by B. Sokolov, translated into French.

P. G. La Chesnais has furnished an account of *La Guerre Civile en Finlande, Janvier-Avril 1918* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 200).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Duchesne, *Le Concile de 1551 et le Stoglav* (*Revue Historique*, September); A. Iswolsky, *Nicolas II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); J. W. Bienstock, *Un Précurseur des Bolchéviks: Netchaïev* (*Mercure de France*, January 1); Baron Boris Nolde, *Le Règne de Lénine* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 15); Prince Eugene Trubetzkoi, *The Bolshevist and the Religious Movement in Russia* (*Hibbert Journal*, January).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Jean Hatzfeld is the author of *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. 424).

General Regnault has collected his notes jotted down from day to day in a volume entitled *La Conquête d'Athènes, Juin-Juillet, 1917* (Paris, Fournier, 1919, pp. 264). The publication of the volume was delayed by the censorship till after the signature of the peace treaty.

In form similar to that of Ishirkoff and Llatarski's *The Bulgarians* (see vol. XXIV., p. 330, of this journal) and with a similar propagandist intention, the Greek Bureau of Foreign Information publishes a useful book of maps and text (25 maps, historical and ethnological) on *The Question of Thrace: Greeks, Bulgars, and Turks* (London, Stanford) by J. Saxon Mills and Matthew G. Chrussachi.

Gabriel Deville, former French minister at Athens, has written *L'Entente, la Grèce, et la Bulgarie* (Paris, Figuière, 1919, pp. 335). Serbia's story is told by L. Marchovitch in *La Serbie et l'Europe, 1914-1918* (Bâle, 1919, pp. 334). *Les Bulgares devant le Congrès de la Paix* (Berne, 1919, pp. 304) is by J. Ivanov. The observations made by René Puaux as a special correspondent of the *Temps* on the ambitions and activities of the Greeks for the domination of the Aegean are recorded in *L'Égée* (Paris, Payot, 1919).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Nekludoff, *Souvenirs Diplomatiques: auprès de Ferdinand de Bulgarie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Day of the Crescent, a work by G. E. Hubbard, consisting mainly of stories from travel-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrating life in Turkey, is forthcoming from the Cambridge University Press.

The Memoirs of Naim Pasha: Turkish Official Documents relating to the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians is being published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

A work of the greatest value to the historian and philologist, as well as to the scientist, is *Sino-Iranica* (pp. 185-630), by Berthold Laufer, a publication of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropological Series, vol. XV., no. 3. The main task of the author is to trace the history of all objects of material culture in their migration from Persia to China (*Sino-Iranica*), and others transmitted from China to Persia (*Irano-Sinica*).

Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia under the Tatar Dominion* is being published by the Cambridge University Press.

New Light on Ser Marco Polo (Murray) is a volume by Professor Henri Cordier supplementary to his revised edition of Sir Henry Yule's translation of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. This new volume of addenda includes information derived from the travels of Sir Aurel Stein, Sven Hedin, Pelliot, Kozlov, and others, as well as material from old books.

The Oxford University Press is publishing part I. of *Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart.

Mr. William Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode) describes briefly and classifies a mass of papers amounting to 48,000 volumes, and will be an indispensable manual to all workers in the history of India during the period of the Company.

A member of the Rowlatt Commission, Sir Verney Lovett, K. C. S. I., bases mostly upon Indian authorities his *History of the Nationalistic Movement in India* from its commencement up to the end of April, 1919; it is published in London by John Murray and in New York by the Frederick A. Stokes Company.

Modern China: a Political Study, by Sih Gung Cheng, forms one of the *Histories of the Nations* series, published by the Oxford University Press.

An Histoire Moderne du Pays d'Annam, 1592-1820; Étude sur les Premiers Rapports des Européens et des Annamites et l'Établissement de la Dynastie de Nguyen (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 406) is by Dr. C. B. Maybon.

South Australian Exploration to 1856 (pp. 118), by Gwenneth Williams, is no. 2 of the series of *Historical Compilations based upon the Study of Original Documents*, published by the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery of South Australia (Adelaide, Hassel, 1919). The monograph includes ten maps.

The Hakluyt Society has published the Diary of Máximo Rodríguez as the third volume of the work entitled *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti* by emissaries of Spain during the years 1772-1776, told in despatches and other contemporary documents, translated and edited by Bolton G. Corney.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. W. Willoughby, *Japan and Korea* (Unpartizan Review, January-February).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A comprehensive survey of the history of Africa has been furnished by A. Moulin in *L'Afrique à travers les Ages* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1920, pp. 529).

The Clarendon Press is issuing a series of some 250 Coptic texts, hitherto unpublished, collected by W. E. Crum since the appearance of his *Coptic Ostraca*. The work contains indexes but no translations.

In *La France au Maroc* (Paris, Colin, 1919) Berthe Georges-Gaulis has given an account of the work of General Lyautey. André Chevrillon has dealt with Moroccan affairs in his characteristically able manner in the volume *Marrakech dans les Palmes* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1920). Another descriptive work on recent events and present conditions in Morocco is *Au Maroc* by Comte M. de Périgny which has just been completed with a third volume (Paris, Roger, 1920) on Casablanca and Rabat. The first volume dealt with Fez, and the second with Marrakesh and the small ports of the south.

The Republic of Liberia (Allen and Unwin) by R. C. F. Maugham, treats of the subject from many aspects, including the historical.

Zanzibar, Past and Present (Unwin, pp. xii, 431), by Maj. Francis B. Pearce, British resident there, treats of the history, anthropology, archaeology, and resources of the sultanate.

The third volume of Mr. G. E. Cory's *The Rise of South Africa* (Longmans) runs from 1834 to 1838, fateful years; the fourth and concluding volume will extend to 1857.

Kruger's coadjutor for many years, Dr. W. J. Leyds, is the author of *The Transvaal Surrounded* (Fisher Unwin, pp. xxiv, 603), which continues his earlier volume, *The First Annexation of the Transvaal*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. G. Botha, *Early Cape Land Tenure* (South African Law Journal, May, August).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The *Annual Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the year 1919 records (pp. 31-44) many noteworthy accessions to the Division of Manuscripts. The more important of these have already been mentioned in these pages, but attention may properly be called to them here: papers of Presidents Tyler, Buchanan, Roosevelt, and Taft; important records of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; Beaumarchais papers; letters of Earl Macartney (1777-1779); papers of Philip Mazzei, the Rodneys, John Rodgers, David B. Warden, John Lloyd (merchant of Alexandria), Willie P. Mangum, John Randolph of Roanoke, John P. Hatch, John C. Underwood, John Sherman, Walt Whitman, and bodies of transcripts from foreign archives. These accessions are listed in detail in appendix III. of the *Report* (pp. 143-168).

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has more recently acquired a letter-book of Samuel Hodgdon, intendant of stores, U. S. army, 1795-1798; a letter-book of the deputy quartermaster of the state of Pennsylvania, 1781-1782; John Holker papers, 1776-1822, about 2000 pieces; Joseph H. Nicholson papers, 1789-1816, about 740 pieces; some 500 papers of John Fisher, assistant deputy quartermaster at Fish-kill, 1778-1784; some 500 miscellaneous papers, 1781-1820, dealing with the French and Spanish administration of Louisiana; drafts of the official despatches to France of Comte de Menou, chargé d'affaires in Washington, 1821-1826; and some miscellaneous papers of Amos Kendall relating to the Cherokee claims, 1832-1880.

Writings on American History, 1917, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin, has come from the press (Yale University Press), and, as usual, furnishes indispensable guidance to a year's product, listed with extraordinary completeness and care. In its 181 pages, 2833 items are catalogued. Members of the American Historical Association should interest themselves in increasing its sales.

Mr. William F. Jacob, chairman of a committee which is engaged in preparing a directory of special libraries in the United States, would be glad if the librarians of any special collections would send him brief data respecting the character and scope of their collections. They should be sent to William F. Jacob, librarian, General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of References on Shipping and Shipbuilding* (pp. 303), compiled under the direction of Herman H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer.

The *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, whose vol. XXVIII. appeared in July, 1914, now comes forward again with a very welcome vol. XXIX. (pp. 303), published all at once and devoted to studies of the United

States, its history, and the pursuit of French history in this country. Here are excellent studies on the economic factor in United States history (A. Viallate), on the development of philosophic thought in this country (E. Leroux), on Woodrow Wilson and J. F. Rhodes as historians (G. Weill), on American religion, poetry, humor, and architecture, and an especially excellent paper on the press in America. The surveys of American work in French history are by Professors Haskins, Thompson, Fling, and Hazen. The whole volume will richly repay the American scholar who reads it. Publication of a number of this journal every two months, and thus of two volumes per annum, begins with February, 1920. The subscription, in this country, is thirty francs; the publisher is Léopold Cerf, 3 rue Ste. Anne.

The contents of the January number of the *Historical Outlook* include an account of How American Aviators were trained, by Col. Hiram Bingham, and Price-Fixing in Revolutionary France: a Source Study for College Classes, by Professor H. E. Bourne. In the February number Professor R. V. D. Magoffin discourses upon Morale Work in an Army Camp; Mr. Morgan P. Robinson describes what he calls Virginia's Historical Laboratory, that is, the work of "archival apprentices" in the Virginia State Library; and Edith M. Clark presents a study of the History Curriculum since 1850. There are also an account of the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association, by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, and a report of the conference then held on the teaching of history. In the March number Professor Guy S. Ford gives an account of the work of the Committee on Public Information, Mr. B. M. Jaquish describes the Evolution of our Present Calendar and a perpetual one derived from it, Professor A. M. Schlesinger discusses the History Situation in Colleges and Universities, 1919-1920, and Mr. M. E. Brandon the "Project Problem Method" in History. There are also supplementary papers relating to the conference at Cleveland on history teaching.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for January contains the following articles: The Catholic Church in America in 1819, by Rev. J. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., based on the *Notizie Varie* of Father Grassi published in Milan in 1818; the Episcopal Career of Bishop McQuaid of Rochester (1868-1902), by Rev. Frederick J. Zwierlein; and Eusebio Kino (1641-1711), by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. Of especial importance to students of church history is a catalogue compiled by Professor Peter Guilday of documents in the archives of the province of Westminster, England, relating to American church history.

Included in the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are: the address of the president, Edward J. Galbally, at the annual meeting of the society in December; an article concerning Cardinal Mercier's uncle, Mgr. Adrian J. Croquet, by T. C.

B.; one concerning Father L. Conrardy, leper missionary in Hawaii and China, by Rev. J. van der Heyden; a continuation of the papers relating to the San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia; and some letters selected from the cathedral archives, Philadelphia. Principal among the latter are letters from Peter R. Kenrick, archbishop of St. Louis, to Mark Antony Frenaye (1849).

The French Blood in America, by Lucian J. Fosdick, is published by Richard G. Badger of Boston in an edition identical in all respects with the editions of 1906 and 1911 of the same work. It is principally a study of French Protestantism, the main part of the book being devoted to an account of the Huguenots in different parts of the United States.

The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: a Study of their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic, and Religious Life, by Thomas Čapek, comes from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Articles in the January number of the *Journal of Negro History* are: the Negro in Education, by Loretta Funke; the Negro Migration to Canada after 1850, by Fred Landon; the Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts, by C. G. Woodson; and a sketch, by Frank Cundall, of Richard Hill (1795-1872), a native of Jamaica, active in earlier life in politics and anti-slavery work and later in scientific and historical pursuits. The most important documentary contribution is a compilation, by Monroe N. Work, of facts relating to negro members of reconstruction conventions and legislatures and of Congress.

The Abingdon Press announces for publication this spring *Steps in the Development of American Democracy*, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin.

It is announced that Henry Holt and Company will bring out in May a volume of essays by Professor Frederick J. Turner, with the title *The Frontier in American History*.

D. Appleton and Company expect to bring out shortly a *History of American Journalism*, by George Henry Payne.

The Macmillan Company has published *An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy* (pp. 63), by Professor Carl R. Fish.

Mr. William M. Meigs has brought out through the Neale Publishing Company a study entitled *The Relation of the Judiciary to the Constitution*.

Hesperia, an American National Poem, by Professor Harry L. Koopman, librarian of Brown University (Providence, Preston and Rounds), attempts to make more impressive by poetic dress the story of the American nation. The six cantos thus far published deal respectively with the Indian's religion, the sixteenth century's vision of an ideal society (here put in the mouth of Parmenius), the voyage of the *May-*

flower, the strivings of Roger Williams in behalf of soul-liberty, Oglethorpe's humanitarian experiment, and Edwards's reasonings on the sovereignty of God. Mr. Koopman shows much insight into the true philosophy of the story, much appreciation of its inspiring qualities.

Bulletin no. 69 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a study of the *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi* (pp. 111), by David I. Bushnell, jr. Mr. Bushnell's volume brings together much of the descriptive material found in books of travel and other historical sources. The volume includes a section of the La Harpe manuscript map (ca. 1720) and numerous plans and other illustrations.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Under the auspices of a distinguished Dutch committee, the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers from Holland will be celebrated, on August 29–September 2 of this year. On the Sunday there will be memorial services in the Bagynekerk in Amsterdam and in the ancient Scots Church in Rotterdam. A congress of two days will be held at Leiden, in the university and the Pieterskerk, with addresses by prominent Dutch and American scholars and speakers. On September 2, American members of the congress will be taken, as the Pilgrims were taken, by canal-boats from Leiden to Delfshaven, now a part of Rotterdam, where there will be a concert of sacred music in the cathedral of St. Lawrence and a service in the old Delfshaven church. For a more permanent memorial of the tercentennial, and of American gratitude for Dutch hospitality, it is proposed to erect in Delfshaven, at the place of departure, a home for American sailors visiting the port of Rotterdam, "The Pilgrims' Rest, *Speedwell*". Contributions for this purpose may be sent to Rev. J. Irwin Brown, minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam. After the Dutch celebration there will be celebrations in England, at Southampton, Plymouth, and Scrooby.

The Dutch committee also is preparing to publish in August, under the editorial care of its secretary, Dr. D. Plooi, a handsome historical volume, containing facsimiles of documents relating to the Pilgrims, such as betrothal and marriage records, or papers in legal cases, found in the archives of Amsterdam and Leiden, Winwood's letters, etc., with text, and with English translations and notes by Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

Isaack de Rasière's celebrated report of 1628 to Samuel Blommaert respecting New Netherland and New Plymouth, though published more than once in English, has, it seems, never been printed in full in the original Dutch. Its text, from the Rijksarchief at the Hague, is now printed by Dr. A. Eekhof in the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XV., with a learned and interesting introduction.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of the Washington Manuscripts from the Year 1592 to 1775* (pp. 137), prepared from the original

manuscripts in the Library of Congress by John C. Fitzpatrick, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division. The Washington manuscripts purchased by the government in 1834 and 1849, which constitute the main body of the collection in the Library, are now all repaired, mounted, and bound in 302 royal folio volumes; this *List* covers the first fifteen and a part of the sixteenth volume, that is, to June 17, 1775, the last paper preceding Washington's commission as commander-in-chief, which is dated June 29.

Mr. F. Regis Noel, of the bar of the District of Columbia, has prepared at the instance of a committee of that bar, and privately published, *A History of the Bankruptcy Law* (pp. 209), in which he reviews, with much care and knowledge, bankruptcy legislation in foreign countries and in the American colonies and states prior to the constitutional convention of 1787, the history of federal legislation under the eighth section of article I. of the Constitution, and judicial interpretation of the clause respecting bankruptcy therein comprised.

In the fortnightly publication called the *Mentor* (New York, Mentor Association), Mr. George S. Bryan puts forth an attractively illustrated pamphlet on *Pioneers of the West*.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published part 2, I-Q (pp. 795-1331) of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*.

The Library Employees' Union of Greater New York has prepared an annotated check-list of books and articles on industrial parliaments, labor councils, shop committees, and work councils, to which is given the title *Industrial Democracy, 1848-1919*.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published the Civil War journal of Col. Thomas L. Livermore, with the title *Days and Events, 1860-1866*.

Mr. Paul L. Haworth has in press a volume called *The United States in our Own Times, 1865-1920* (Scribner) primarily designed as a college text, but also intended to be useful to the general reader.

The Restoration of the Southern Railroads (pp. 28), by Professor Carl R. Fish, appears in the series of *Studies in the Social Sciences and History* of the University of Wisconsin.

The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884, by Harrison C. Thomas, is a recent issue of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (vol. LXXXIX., no. 2).

The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis, 1823-1916, by Charles M. Pepper, comes from the press of the Century Company.

The autobiographical chronicle of Henry Watterson, long-time editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, bears the title *Marse Henry* (Doran). It is in two volumes.

Memories of Buffalo Bill, written by his wife in collaboration with C. R. Cooper (Appleton, pp. 326), is not a book that naturally lends itself to formal review in a "three-decker" quarterly like this, but it is a book by no means negligible by the historian. The reader, beside being carried on by much of the same pleasure with which in former times he has watched the Wild West Show, will get from the book copious and valuable drafts of the atmosphere of a bygone period, of a region since transformed, and see a substantially heroic type of man now extinct.

Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, jr., formerly Mrs. Grover Cleveland, has entrusted to Professor Robert M. McElroy of Princeton University the task of preparing the authorized *Life and Letters* of President Cleveland. The work is the same to which we previously called attention in connection with the name of Mr. William G. Rice, and we repeat the request that any persons who have letters of Mr. Cleveland should communicate with the author. The biography will be published by Harper and Brothers; some portions will appear serially in *Harper's Magazine* before the publication of the book.

The widow of Walter Q. Gresham, secretary of state under President Cleveland, has written a life of her husband, in two volumes, which Rand, McNally, and Company have printed. The work bears the title *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895*, by Matilda Gresham.

Mr. James Morgan's *Theodore Roosevelt, the Boy and the Man*, first brought out in 1907, is now published in a new edition (Macmillan, 1920, pp. 350) with additional brief chapters bringing the story down to Roosevelt's death. The boyish element in that great man, his unflagging vivacity, and the many ways in which his career is an inspiration to young citizens, give excellent opportunity for a boy's book of this sort, and Mr. Morgan's book meets the opportunity in a most spirited and interesting manner.

Selected Addresses and Public Papers of Theodore Roosevelt, compiled and edited, with an introduction, by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, is announced for publication this month by Boni and Liveright.

The well-known French publicist, Charles Maurras, has paid his compliments to the president of the United States in *Les Trois Aspects du Président Wilson* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920).

Woodrow Wilson and his Work, by Professor William E. Dodd, will be published this spring by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

Some Letters of Augustus Peabody Gardner, edited by his widow, Mrs. Constance Gardner, is from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company. The letters pertain especially to Major Gardner's services in the Spanish-American War, in the Massachusetts state senate, and in Congress.

Leonard Wood: Administrator, Soldier, Citizen, by W. H. Hobbs, is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. *Leonard Wood, Conservator of Americanism: a Biography*, by Eric F. Wood, is from the press of George H. Doran Company.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

A concluding volume entitled *Woodrow Wilson and the Great War* will be added to the series called *The Chronicles of America* (Yale University Press) and will be prepared by Professor Charles Seymour of Yale.

The December issue of the *Monthly List of State Publications* published by the Library of Congress will be especially valued as containing a tentative check-list of state publications relating to the European war, so extensive as to fill seventy pages.

A Handbook of Economic Agencies of the War of 1917 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, pp. 539), prepared in the Historical Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, presents historical notes upon several hundred agencies which had a part in the processes of economic mobilization. It is based on careful and comprehensive inquiries and on information officially supplied, and is arranged in alphabetical order.

America during Five Years of War, 1914-1919 (pp. 51), by R. L. Ashley, is issued as a supplement to the author's *American History* (Macmillan).

Gen. Peyton C. March has written an introduction for Lieut.-Col. Édouard Réquin's volume, *America's Race to Victory*, which is published by Messrs. Stokes.

The Historical Report of the Chief Engineer of the American Expeditionary Force, 1917-1919, covering all operations of the engineer department during those two years, has lately been issued by the War Department as its document no. 907 (pp. 437, one plate, nine maps). General Pershing's report as commander-in-chief is also obtainable from the Government Printing Office (pp. 96, nine plates, seven maps).

The Report of the surgeon general of the United States army to the Secretary of War, 1919, which has appeared in two bulky volumes, contains much material for a history of the training camps (Washington, Government Printing Office).

The United States marine corps has brought out a preliminary *History of the United States Marine Corps in the World War*, prepared by Maj. Edward N. McClellan, the officer who, in succession to Maj. T. H. Low, has lately had charge of the historical division of the marine corps, and previously was its representative in France.

A Pictorial History of the World War: also America's Great Feat of Arms, etc., by S. J. Duncan-Clark, is put forth in Chicago by L. W. Walter Company. The same publishers have brought out a volume bearing the title *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, etc., by E. J. Scott.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The New Hampshire Historical Society has recently received the papers of Gen. John Stark, in three volumes. These papers are a gift from Mr. Arthur Winslow of Boston, Admiral Cameron M. Winslow, and their sister, Miss Sarah Winslow.

The secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in order to secure its historical archives from destruction, is taking the unusual and expensive course of having copies made, for preservation in another building. It will be agreed by historical scholars that the method has little to recommend it, in comparison either with extensive publication or the erection of a perfectly fire-proof building. The office of commissioner of records has been abolished.

We have received, as a separate reprint from vol. XX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (pp. 286-462), Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's *Recent History of Dighton Rock*. The present, and apparently concluding, installment of the writer's learned investigation covers the period from the beginning of Rafn's inquiries to the present day, investigates carefully all previous deductions and surmises, and presents, among other findings of his own, a fresh conjecture—that the inscription may contain the name of Miguel Cortereal.

Mr. George F. Dow, 2 Lynde Street, Boston, having occasion to search through the files of eighteenth-century Boston newspapers, presently, for two subjects, offers to conduct at the same time, in an economical fashion, a parallel search for any other subjects on which information is desired by historical inquirers.

The Story of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, February 10, 1917–November 21, 1918, by George H. Lyman, is privately printed by the author (Boston, 351 Commonwealth Avenue).

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains a paper by Francis B. C. Bradlee entitled the *Dreadnought of Newburyport* and some *Account of the Old Transatlantic Packet Ships*, and a continuation of the diary of Samuel Holten, member of the Continental Congress, 1778–1780.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association for January (vol. I., no. 2) includes an address, by Charles M. Dow, on Daniel D. Tompkins; a biographical sketch, by D. S. Alexander, of John W. Taylor, member of Congress 1813-1833, and speaker of the House of Representatives 1820-1821 and 1825-1827; a brief paper on New York and the National Banking System, by A. Barton Hepburn; Some Unprinted Minutes of the Albany Common Council, by E. W. Root; and a continuation of the Minutes of the Presbytery of New York, 1876.

The New York Public Library recently received what is known as the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, given to it, under the terms of the will of Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, by Mr. V. H. Paltsits. This collection consists of about 10,000 books and pamphlets, 200 broadsides, 100 newspapers, 1000 photographs, and 25,000 manuscripts. The manuscripts include the military and other papers of General Peter Gansevoort, jr., papers of his son, Peter Gansevoort, and of the latter's son, Brig.-Gen. Henry S. Gansevoort; also numerous papers of the Lansing, Douw, Van Schaick, and Melville families, and several hundred papers of Abraham Yates, jr. The dates run from the last quarter of the seventeenth century down.

The New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for January contains an historical account of liberty poles erected in New York in the years just preceding the Revolution, followed by a proposal to erect in the city a liberty pole as a memorial to the patriotism of the New York troops who served in the World War. There are facsimiles of broadsides, etc.

The four numbers of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* for the period January to October are brought out as a single issue. The principal contents are: an address by Professor Walter T. Marvin, entitled the Shifting of Intelligence during the Past One Hundred Years; an account of the Battle of Iron Works Hill (December, 1776), by William A. Slaughter; a history of the Early Settlements and Settlers of Pompton, Pequannoc, and Pompton Plains, by Rev. Garret C. Schenck; the Story of Beverwyck, by Mrs. Benjamin S. Condict; and a Journal of a Trip to Kentucky in 1795 by Dr. Lewis Condict of Morristown. The January, 1920, number is a subject-index to the thirty-six volumes of the *Proceedings*, 1845-1919.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published its *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States: Pennsylvania, 1790-1904*, part I., A-E, by Adelaide R. Hasse.

The Pennsylvania War History Commission has issued, under the title *Pennsylvania's Participation in the World War*, a suggested outline for a state or county history of the war.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. V., nos. 1 and 2 (October, 1919-January, 1920), is a monograph, by Margaret Woodbury, Ph.D., on *Public Opinion in Philadelphia, 1789-1801* (pp. 138). The subject is examined under four topics: Newspapers and Editors; the Financial System; Foreign Relations; and Political Parties. The monograph is a useful contribution to the history of the period.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XXVIII., of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia for the years 1916, 1917, 1918 contains a number of papers of historical interest. Chief among these are: Early American Portrait Painters, including Local Annals connected with a Number of them, by Edward Biddle; the Origin of Belgium, by Professor Albert J. Carnoy of the University of Louvain; Formation of the Calendar, by Walter Wood; the Origin of Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, with Incidents of the Neighborhood, by Charles J. Cohen; Nicholas Biddle's Journey to Greece in 1806, by Professor William N. Bates; the Civilization of Crete in Prehistoric Times, by Dr. Stephen B. Luce; and the Old Gulph Road, by Allen Evans.

Following are recent issues of *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*; Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1750 to 1760, inclusive, copied by H. Frank Eshleman (vol. XXIII., no. 8, October 3); the Loyalists in the Revolution, by Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer (no. 9, November 7); and Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader, by Hon. Charles I. Landis (no. 10, December 5).

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a brief paper by Thomas L. Rodgers narrating some Recollections of Early Times on the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a paper by George E. Davies on Robert Smith and the Navy, the third part of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Governor Thomas Johnson, the third series of memorial sketches of Marylanders who lost their lives in the Great War, a continuation of the Carroll Papers, some extracts from the Dulany Papers (1743-1767), and sketches of Some Early Colonial Marylanders, by McHenry Howard. The March number presents continuations of these papers, together with one on Solomon Etting, by Aaron Baroway, and one on the Reverdy Johnson papers in the Library of Congress, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.

Vol. XXII. of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society consists mainly of papers by Allen C. Clark on R. C. Weightman, mayor of Washington, and on Gen. John P. Van Ness, but it also contains an account, by Justice Job Barnard, of the Early Days of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, established in 1863, and a sketch of the history of the Patent Office, by George W. Evans.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXV.—39.

The general assembly of Virginia has appropriated \$40,000 for the construction of a fire-proof repository for the archives of the state, to be connected with the State Library building by means of a bridge or arcade.

John Randolph's *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, and the *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined*, by Robert Carter Nicholas, have been edited by Earl G. Swem and published as no. 32 of *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, Heartman).

The *Proceedings* of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina for the year 1918 (*Bulletin* no. 25 of the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission) contains the addresses prepared for the nineteenth annual session of the association, October 28-29, 1918, a session which however was not held because of the epidemic of influenza. The chief papers concern Anglo-American Relations and commemorate the tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh. They are: introductory remarks by Dr. James Sprunt, president of the association; Sir Walter Raleigh as a Man of Letters, by F. W. C. Hersey; Raleigh's Place in American Colonization, by Professor Charles M. Andrews; England and the Birth of the American Nation, by Professor William T. Laprade; the Converging Democracies of England and America, by Professor William E. Dodd; Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations during the Last Half-Century, by Charles H. Levermore, secretary of the New York Peace Society; and Social and Political Ideals of the English-Speaking Peoples, by Professor George A. Wauchope. There is also an address by Dr. James Sprunt on George Davis, a leader of the Wilmington bar in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Series XIII. of the *Historical Papers* published by the Trinity College Historical Society (Durham, 1919, pp. 115) embodies three studies by students of the college: Religious Defense of Slavery in the North, by Adelaide A. Lyons, Militia of North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, by Luther L. Gobbel, and Life and Public Services of Hugh Williamson, by John W. Neal. In the first article are brought into view the attitudes of the different denominations toward slavery, expressions of individual clergymen, and pamphlets and books which appeared in the North in defense of slavery. The second article brings together materials for the most part found in the *Colonial and State Records*. The sketch of Williamson is naturally more especially concerned with his services in Congress and the Federal Convention, but also gives glimpses of his private career. Touching Williamson's activities in Europe in the early years of the Revolution one misses Silas Deane's frequently voiced suspicions of Williamson's patriotism. Two original letters of Williamson (1778, 1783) are printed in full.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XVI., no. 2, contains the Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone, edited by W. W. Pierson, jr., and

a short study of the Provincial Agents of North Carolina, by Samuel J. Ervin, jr. Malone was a private (later sergeant) in a North Carolina regiment in the Civil War, and his diary relates to his service in the army from January, 1862, to November, 1863, and to his experiences as a prisoner at Point Lookout, Maryland, from that time until March, 1865.

The Georgia Historical Society, established for eighty-one years in Savannah, and the recently founded Georgia Historical Association have formed plans for a union which shall give the state one stronger historical society, based on the whole body of those interested in history, and with but one organ, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. The library, of 40,000 volumes and some 26,000 pamphlets, remains of course in Savannah, but meetings will be held in other cities.

The December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* prints a Biographical Sketch of James Habersham, found among some papers of William B. Stevens, the historian of Georgia, which were deposited with the Georgia Historical Society after the death of Dr. Stevens. The sketch as it exists is incomplete (if ever completed), and the editor of the *Quarterly* writes a continuation of it. The same number of the *Quarterly* contains a sketch of Abraham Baldwin, taken from the *National Intelligencer*, and a brief one of James Jackson, reprinted from the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, April 6, 1806. In the department of Editor's Notes is found a warrant (May 10, 1733) from the trustees of Georgia to the vestry of St. Margaret, Westminster, to collect money for the purpose of sending "poor people to be settled and established in the Southern frontiers of South Carolina", together with some correspondence pertaining to the document and its acquirement by the society.

At New Port Richey, Florida, the Avery Library and Historical Society was formed in November for the purpose, among other things, of gathering and preserving historical material relative to Pasco County. Dr. Elroy M. Avery is president.

WESTERN STATES

In the Museum of Natural History at Havre there is a remarkable collection of some 1600 drawings and aquarelles made by Charles Alexandre Lesueur during extensive travels in the Mississippi Valley, 1816-1839. Madame Adrien Loir, upon the basis of this collection, has made him the subject of a thesis at the University of Caen, *Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Artiste et Savant Français en Amérique de 1816 à 1839* (Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, pp. 108) with reproductions of some forty of Lesueur's pictures, illustrating Western conditions a hundred years ago.

The December number of the *Mississippi Historical Review* contains a paper by Dr. Charles W. Hackett entitled *New Light on Don Diego de Peñalosa: Proof that he never made an Expedition from Santa Fe to Quivira and the Mississippi River in 1662*, and one by Professor James E. Walmsley discussing the question what was the Last Meeting of the Confederate Cabinet. Two other articles are concerned with the period of the late war: the one, *the Khaki Journalists, 1917-1919*, is an account, by A. M. Schlesinger, of the soldier press during the war, the other is a survey, by John C. Parish, of Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1917-1919. In the section of documents is presented a group of four financial reports relating to Louisiana, 1766-1788, edited, with an introduction, by Charles H. Cunningham.

In the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is found, besides an account of the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society in August, an article on Lutheranism in Perry County, Ohio, by C. L. Martzloff. In the January number is an article by Carl Wittke on Ohio's German-Language Press and the Peace Negotiations.

In the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, R. C. Buley continues his papers on Indiana in the Mexican War, George F. White writes a memoir of his grandfather, Colonel Isaac White, and George C. Perring gives some account of the New Albany and Salem Railroad: Incidents of Road and Men.

The diary of John Parsons of Virginia describing *A Tour through Indiana in 1840*, edited by Kate M. Rabb, will be brought out shortly by McBride.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, by Bedelia K. Garraghan; *Father Saint Cyr, Missionary and Proto-Priest of Modern Chicago* (a group of documents, 1803-1833); *the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati*, by Rev. John Rothensteiner; *the Irish in Early Illinois*, by Joseph J. Thompson; *the Franciscans in Southern Illinois*, by Rev. Silas Barth, O.F.M.; and *the Beaubiens of Chicago*, by Frank G. Beaubien. The four papers last mentioned are continuations.

Chicago Yesterdays: a Sheaf of Reminiscences, is a compilation, by Caroline Kirkland, from family letters, memoirs, etc., and deals with the early life of Chicago (Daughaday and Company).

Among the contents of the January number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* is a second paper by Ella H. Ellwanger on *Famous Steamboats and their Captains on Western and Southern Waters*; a sketch of Lieut. P. N. O'Bannon, a Kentucky soldier in the war with Tripoli; and an assemblage of data under the title *Ken-*

tucky, Mother of United States Senators and Representatives, by A. C. Quisenberry.

The *Transylvania College Bulletin* for November is a list of the many rare and curious old books in the college library, with a sketch of the library, by Mrs. Elizabeth Norton, librarian. The list comprises 238 volumes, a number of which were printed in the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Bulletin* contains also a number of title-pages in facsimile, illustrations of college buildings, etc.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* are an account of the Battle of Shiloh, by Rev. T. M. Hurst; an article on the Management of Negroes upon Southern Estates, reprinted from DeBow's *Industrial Resources of the Southwest*; and the conclusion of the Tour in 1807 down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers from Nashville to New Orleans, by Dr. John R. Bedford.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out a volume containing two studies: *The Michigan Fur Trade* (pp. 1-202), by Ida A. Johnson, and *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company* (pp. 203-461), by Paul W. Ivey, Ph.D. To the cover title is added: *University Series, V.* The first monograph surveys the rise and growth of the fur-trade within the boundaries of Michigan under the French, British, and American régimes, with a study of the respective policies, and describes the life of the traders, their relations to the red men and to each other. Dr. Ivey's study of the Pere Marquette system is largely from the financial side.

Among the articles in the October number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: some personal recollections, by O. E. McCutcheon, of President Johnson's visit to Albion during his tour in September, 1866; Indian Wars and Warriors of Michigan, by Rev. Norman B. Wood; Recollections of Civil War Conditions in the Copper Country, by O. W. Robinson; and Lewis Cass and the Saginaw Treaty of 1819, by Henry E. Nageley. There are also accounts of several phases of war-work in Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired a collection of manuscripts from the estate of Capt. Joseph Buisson of Minneapolis. These papers are of value for the history of the fur-trade.

At the 1919 session of the Wisconsin legislature an act was passed making provision for county and rural planning committees. The measure includes in its scope the marking of historical sites, and the State Historical Society, through its state landmarks committee, is co-operating with state authorities in projects of this character.

In the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, M. M. Quaife describes an Experiment of the Fathers in State Socialism (the Indian trading-house system of the government); Dr. William Brown-

ing presents an investigation into the Early History of Jonathan Carver; Dr. John C. Reeve writes a chapter in the story of his own life, entitled a *Physician in Pioneer Wisconsin* (a reprint); Miss Kellogg, continuing the *Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848*, discusses Foreign Immigration in Territorial Times; and W. A. Titus, in his study of Historic Spots in Wisconsin, describes the Fond du Lac Trading Post and Early Settlement. There is also a *Journal of Life in Wisconsin One Hundred Years ago* (June 2, 1817, to May 31, 1818), kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont.

Two articles make up the principal contents of the August number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*; Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier, by Wilson P. Shortridge, and War History Work in Minnesota, by F. F. Holbrook.

Articles in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: an Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1865-1898, by Cyril B. Upham; the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860, by Louis B. Schmidt; and Some Episodes in the History of the Founding of the Medical College of the State University of Iowa, by John P. Irish.

The April (1919) number of *Iowa and War* is a brief study of *Fort Des Moines in Iowa History*, by Ruth A. Gallaher. The number for May is an account, by Marcus L. Hansen, of the difficulties encountered in *The Writing of War History in Iowa*.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a paper by E. W. Stephens on the Little Bonne Femme Church; one by Robert A. Glenn on the Osage War; the second of William G. Bek's articles on the Followers of Duden; the fifth paper by Rollin J. Britton on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War; and the second installment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by John N. Edwards.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* begins in the January number the publication of a life of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, by A. K. Christian. The same number contains the second installment of Ruby Smith's James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, and a paper by Professor Charles E. Chapman, Gali and Rodriguez Cermenho: Exploration of California.

In the July-September issue of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* is an article by Albert Watkins, Why Fort Atkinson was Established. The October-December number contains an article by Mr. Watkins entitled Three Military Heroes of Nebraska, namely, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, Gen. Philip Kearny, and Lieut. Caspar Collins.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is a general index to volumes I.-X. of the quarterly, together with the tables of contents of the several volumes. In the January number, Judge B.

C. Howay narrates the interesting story of the voyage of the *Hope*, from Boston to the Northwest Coast, in 1790-1792, chiefly by means of Captain Ingraham's journal, preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. William S. Lewis gives an account of Francis Heron, fur-trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest from 1810, and a chief trader from 1828 to 1838, and of his son George Heron, born in 1834 and still living. Professor Meany's notes on geographical names in Washington, and the journal of Fort Nisqually, are continued.

In the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December, Katharine B. Judson contributes a second paper on the British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria; T. C. Elliott some documents from the Hudson's Bay Company correspondence relative to the Northwest Boundaries, and L. B. Shippee the seventh of his studies of the Federal Relations of Oregon.

The California Historical Survey Commission has published in a large volume (Sacramento, 1919, pp. 622) a *Guide to the County Archives of California*, by Owen C. Coy, director and archivist.

The University of California has just published a paper on *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico* (pp. 58) by Leona Cope, and has in press a dissertation on *The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans*, by Paul Radin. It also has in press an account of the Uprising of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, 1680-1682, by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, and one of the Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812, by Dr. Everett S. Brown.

Miss Doris Bepler, holding one of the fellowships of the Native Sons of the Golden West, has nearly prepared for publication a reference list of some 6000 titles of articles, large and small, relating to the history of California, which appeared, before the close of the nineteenth century, in any of the California magazines, many of which were short-lived and are now rare.

A history of the city of San Diego, by Rolland A. Vandegrift and Lloyd Mecham, forms the chief historical article in the April number of the *Grizzly Bear* magazine.

The centennial of the arrival in Hawaii of the first American missionaries will be celebrated in Honolulu, April 11-19, with impressive ceremonies, a pageant, and historical exercises.

CANADA

In place of the annual *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, which for twenty-two years has performed invaluable service to all students of its field, there will hereafter be published the *Canadian Historical Review*, in March, June, September, and December of each

year. The board of editors consists of Messrs. A. H. U. Colquhoun, deputy minister of education for Ontario, W. L. Grant, principal of Upper Canada College, H. H. Langton, librarian of the University of Toronto, R. M. MacIver and George M. Wrong, professors in that university. The managing editor will be Professor W. S. Wallace of McMaster University. The journal will contain articles and original historical documents, as well as those reviews of books which have made the staple of the annual publication hitherto provided by Messrs. Wrong, Langton, and Wallace. The first number, March, 1920, which we have received, contains an important article on Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet by Professor Wrong, a body of notes on the Quebec Conference of 1864 on Confederation (a conference held behind closed doors), taken down by one of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, a British secret service report on Canada in 1711, and a report made by John Rose in 1868, from Washington, relative to trade arrangements then under negotiation between Canada and the United States, casting light upon transactions which at the time were left in some mystery. The reviews of books are of the same high standard that was maintained in the annual publication, and in general the new journal has an excellence that, we hope, insures to it great prosperity. Subscriptions (at \$2.00 per annum) may be sent to Mr. W. J. Dunlop, Faculty of Education Building, 321 Bloor Street, West, Toronto.

Sir John Willison's *Reminiscences Political and Personal* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart) gather up in one volume the important notes on a lifetime of Canadian journalism and politics which we have mentioned as they appeared from time to time in articles in the *Canadian Magazine*.

The *Transactions*, part X., of the London and Middlesex Historical Society contains a paper by Fred Landon, on Fugitive Slaves in London before 1860.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The November number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* contains an article entitled Some Historical and Political Aspects of the Government of Porto Rico, by Pedro Capó-Rodríguez; and one on German Political Designs with reference to Brazil, by Loretta Baum. In the section of Documents is a letter from Col. John T. Pickett of the Southern Confederacy to Señor Don Manuel de Zamacona, minister of foreign affairs in Mexico, dated Mexico, September 16, 1861. The document is contributed with an introduction, by Miss Mary W. Williams. Articles in the February number are: Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine, by William S. Robertson; and Anti-American Propaganda in Hispanic America, by Edward Perry. In the section of Documents is an Agreement by Ferdinand and Isabella re-

specting the Town and Fortress of Lumbier, in Navarre, dated November 20, 1486, which is contributed, with an introduction and a translation, by Dr. Frances G. Davenport. In the bibliographical section, the editor of the *Review*, Dr. James A. Robertson, gives some account of the Oliveira Lima Collection of Hispano-americana, recently donated by Dr. Oliveira Lima to the Catholic University of America.

Among the contents of the July-October issue (double number) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) are the following: an *expediente* of correspondence relative to the removal to the United States of the bodies of fifty-one Americans who, under Colonel William Crittenden, took part in the expedition of Gen. Narciso Lopez and were captured and executed in August, 1851; some papers relative to the arrival at Port-au-Prince of the filibustering vessel *Hornet* (January and February, 1871); a communication of the secret agents of the Spanish government in the United States, dated New York, January 28, 1871; a group of correspondence of Cuban insurgents, 1868; an *expediente* upon interpellations in the House of Commons concerning the abolition of slavery in Cuba (1878); and a project brought forward in 1861 by Francisco de Frías y Jacott, Conde de Pozos Dulces, for the founding of an Instituto Agrónomo Cubano.

Under the title *The Great Adventure of Panama* Messrs. Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out Philippe Bunau-Varilla's own account of the efforts in which he was engaged for controlling the Panama Canal and insuring its completion through means offered by revolutionary action at the Isthmus.

Argentina: Legend and History: Readings, by Garibaldi G. B. Laguardia and Cincinnato D. B. Laguardia, is included in the *Hispanic Series* of B. H. Sanborn and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. A. Prud'homme, A. H. de Trémaudan, and P. G. Roy, *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Canada Français, December); G. Jones, *Why Copley left Boston* (Mid-West Quarterly, January, 1918); H. M. Ellis, *Thomas Cooper: a Survey of his Life* [part I., England, 1759-1794] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); A. E. Morgan, *New Light on Lincoln's Boyhood* (Atlantic Monthly, February); T. Williams, *Lincoln the Reader* (Review of Reviews, February); E. D. Ross, *Samuel J. Tilden and the Revival of the Democratic Party* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his Own Letters*, IV., V., VI. (Scribner's Magazine, December, January, February); Princess Catherine Radziwill, *A Russian Appreciation of Theodore Roosevelt: a hitherto unpublished Document of the Portsmouth Peace Conference* (Outlook, January 7); F. B. Elser, *General Pershing's Mexican Campaign* (Century, February); Rear-Adm. W. S. Sims, *The Victory at Sea*, V., VI., VII. (World's Work, January, February, March); W. E.

Dodd, *President Wilson, his Treaty, and his Reward* (*ibid.*, March); C. H. Grasty, *The Personality behind the President* (Atlantic Monthly, January); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina* [concl.] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); H. I. Priestley, *The Relations of the United States and Mexico since 1910* (University of California Chronicle, January); E. Schultze, *Der Wirtschaftliche Imperialismus der Vereinigten Staaten in Mexiko* (Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft, X. 7); F. A. Ogg, *Mexico from Diaz to Carranza* (Munsey's Magazine, January); H. Lyra, *Pan-Americanism in Brazil prior to the Declaration of Monroe* (Inter-America, English, December).

[The publication of this number of the *Review* has been delayed by failure of print-paper to arrive at the printing office.]

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The American Historical Association, founded in 1884, incorporated by Act of Congress in 1889, is a national organization for the promotion of historical studies. Membership in the Association is obtained through election by the Executive Council upon nomination by a member or by direct application. The annual dues are three dollars. All inquiries respecting the Association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, as well as all orders for publications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary of the Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The list of officers and committees of the Association for 1920 will be found in the first article in this issue of the *American Historical Review*. The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Washington on December 28 to 30, 1920.

Competition for the Justin Winsor prize of \$200 offered for the best published or unpublished essay in the history of the Western Hemisphere closes on July 1, 1920. Information respecting the competition may be secured from the Assistant Secretary. Competition for the military history prize of \$250 offered by the Association for the best unpublished essay on American military history closes on July 1, 1920. Information respecting this competition may be secured from the Chairman of the Prize Committee, Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

I. PRIZE ESSAYS

The first four essays listed below are reprinted from the *Annual Reports* of the Association; the others are separate publications. All are bound in blue cloth, and the price is \$1.00 per volume, except as otherwise indicated. Members of the American Historical Association are entitled to a discount of ten per cent. on all orders amounting to five dollars or more; non-members will be allowed a discount of five per cent. on all orders amounting to ten dollars or more.

(Reprinted from *Annual Reports*)

Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina: a Sociological Study. By William A. Schaper. Pp. 236. (1900)

Georgia and State Rights. By Ulrich B. Phillips. Pp. 224. (1901)

The American Colonial Charter: a Study of its Relation to English Administration, chiefly after 1688. By Louise Phelps Kellogg. Pp. 157. Price 75 cents. (1903)

The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River. By Annie Heloise Abel. Pp. 218. (1906)

(Published separately)

The Spiritual Franciscans. By David Saville Muzzey. Pp. 102. Price 75 cents. (1905)

The Interdict: Its History and its Operation. With especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216. By Edward B. Krehbiel. Pp. 184. (1907)

"Dr. Krehbiel has done his work faithfully and . . . has furnished an invaluable compendium". (*Scottish Historical Review*)

"... Excellente monographie, aussi claire que sure. . . ." (*Le Moyen Age*)

Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774. By Clarence E. Carter. Pp. 223. (1908)

"A minute and painstaking study of conditions in the settlements in a part of the Northwest country". (*American Political Science Review*)

A History of Witchcraft in England, 1558-1718. By Wallace Notestein. Pp. 314. (1909)

"The essay, a capital short story of England's share in the great illusion of the witch, is excellently suited for precise reference as well as for general information. It adds Mr. Notestein's name to the honour list among the capable, diligent, and cultured students who are steadily establishing the reputation of American research in English history". (*Scottish Historical Review*)

The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—Servitude—Freedom, 1637-1861. By Edward Raymond Turner. Pp. 314. (1910)

"In addition to zeal for research and for the careful collation of material, Dr. Turner also possesses the power of wise selection, logical organization, and lucid and interesting presentation of his data. As the result, he has been eminently successful. . . . The work at once takes its place as the authority in this field. . . ." (*American Historical Review*)

The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England During the Interregnum. By Louise Fargo Brown. Pp. 258. (1911)

"Only praise of the highest character is to be awarded a study at once so general, so profound in its insight, and at the same time so scholarly". (*Buffalo News*)

"For her work Miss Brown . . . is well qualified. . . . She lays us all under obligations for the light she has shed on the 'fire in the rear' which so harassed the Cromwellian rule". (*American Historical Review*)

The Whig Party in the South. By Arthur C. Cole. Pp. 392. (1912)

"It is probably the best contribution to the political history of the South that has yet been made". (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*)

Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II. By Violet Barbour. Pp. 303. (1913)

" . . . clear and sympathetic presentation couched in a style fortunately far removed from so-called 'thesis English'. . . . Its value lies in the details added to the knowledge of the tortuous politics of the period." (*American Historical Review*)

Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams. Pp. 356. (1914)

"It is based on a minute and painstaking study of all available English and American manuscript and printed sources. . . . Henceforth the book must necessarily be on the shelves of all well stocked libraries." (*American Journal of International Law*)

"Easily the best historical account of the relations between Great Britain and the United States with reference to Central America." (*Political Science Quarterly*)

The Leveller Movement. By Theodore C. Pease. Pp. 406. (1915)

"Admirably written study of a difficult part of English history." (*Scottish Historical Review*)

"It is a very solid and valuable contribution . . . and much the most detailed and thorough study we have of the political theory of probably the most interesting group in a most momentous period—a task well worth doing." (*American Political Science Review*)

Connecticut, in Transition, 1775-1818. By Richard J. Purcell. Pp. 471. (1916)

" . . . the qualities of clearness and entertainment are among the obvious merits of this work. . . . On the whole . . . a splendid piece of research." (*Catholic World*)

"Fortunately there comes along now a chapter of Connecticut history that is in fact the most interesting of our whole story, and that is written out as delightfully and as informingly as any of these highest authorities could have written it. . . . Every citizen of the State should read it." (*Hartford Courant*)

II. MISCELLANEOUS

Writings on American History. Compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. An annual bibliography of books and articles on the history of the United States and Canada (some 3000 each year). Volumes for the following years are in the stock of the Association: 1906 (paper, 75 cents); 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911 (cloth, \$1.00 each). The volumes for the years since 1912 have been published by the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., from which they may be obtained; price, \$2.50 per volume.

Original Narratives of Early American History. 19 volumes. Reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association. J. Franklin Jameson, general editor. \$3.50 per volume. Published and for sale by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Pacific Ocean in History. Proceedings of the American Historical Association at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, 1915. Edited by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton. Cloth. Pp. 535. \$4.00. Published and for sale by the Macmillan Company.

The American Red Cross in the Great War

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